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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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MATERIAL MARKING AIR FORCE, AIR DEFENSE ANNIVERSARY

Air Force Leader Interviewed

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Oct 83 p 2

[Interview with Lt Gen Avn Zhelyazko Zhelyazkov, Honored Pilot and deputy commander of Air Defense and the Air Forces, by Maj Konstantin Lichev: "Wing to Wing"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade lieutenant general, with what successes are the Bulgarian Air Forces celebrating their holiday?

[Answer] Totally loyal to their people and motherland, the men of the Air Forces this training year have taken an active part in the struggle to carry out the decisions of the 12th Party Congress. In the study halls, at the parking areas, in the control towers and at the repair areas day and night a struggle is waged for high quality flight service. The indicators for military and political training have risen, the number of class specialists and outstanding flights and squadrons has increased and the ability of the commanders and staffs has risen in organizing and directing all training, combat and political activities in the units and subunits commanded by them.

The highest results have been achieved by the flyers under the command of the first class military pilot, Officer Stefan Popov. They have merited their first place in the noble socialist competition. Also pleasing are the successes of the aviation collectives in which the first-class military pilots, Officers Georgiev and Loginov serve.

[Question] What is the place of the Bulgarian Air Forces in the battle formation of the armies of the Warsaw Pact states?

[Answer] It is an honor and pride for the Bulgarian military pilots to be able to fly wing to wing with their brothers in ideas and arms, the men of the socialist commonwealth. The exercise "Shtit-82" [Shield-82] held in our nation categorically showed the military fraternity, the ability and skill, the might and strength of the Warsaw Pact military.

The Bulgarian pilots demonstrated a high degree of training and ability to successfully carry out difficult tasks under hard conditions. By this they actually confirmed their readiness and ability to be a reliable ally of the

fraternal Warsaw Pact air forces and to successfully carry out their patriotic and international duty of defending socialism.

When we speak of the place of the Bulgarian Air Forces in the winged formation of the Warsaw Pact, we cannot help but mention the glorious Soviet pilots with gratitude and respect. Even during the Patriotic War, our pilots learned from their combat experience and fought together against the Nazis. Later in peacetime Soviet instructors spared no time, effort, knowledge and experience to teach us to fly like they did. The Bulgarian pilots and aviation technicians confidently mastered the most modern Soviet aircraft and auxiliary aviation equipment.

[Question] What rules are an inviolable law for a pilot?

[Answer] There are many rules which must not be violated but there are those without which our pilot would be merely a seeker of powerful sensations. This is the duty to the motherland and belief in the party. Without these two conditions, the pilot cannot be a true defender of a peaceful life. For this reason, the Bulgarian military pilots have vowed in actuality to show that they are the true protectors of our air frontiers.

In second place I would put iron self-discipline of a pilot. Not fear of punishment but rather inner conviction directs the pilot's thoughts and actions. Any deviation from the rules and from the laws of flying leads to irrectifiable consequences. This is why on the ground and in the air discipline is exceptionally essential. It also determines the quality of flight service.

[Question] Is there a place for heroism in peacetime? And what about the romance of flying?

[Answer] Undoubtedly yes! I will give you an example. The first-class instructor pilot, Maj Stoyan Stoyanov, saved the life of his student pilot and himself perished in the burning aircraft. He gave a young flyer his wings and now his former student, Officer Petko Karamitev, is a first-class pilot with thousands of alert duties and who has personally trained and indoctrinated scores of young pilots. There are many such examples.

At present, there is heroism in alert duties, in effectively carrying out each set task. There is heroism in a readiness to take a risk, in the great physical and mental stress in each flight, in the constant deprivations in personal life and many other things.

As for the romance of flying, it is in the salty and sweat-soaked pressure suit, it is in the mornings when we leave for the control tower, it is with us when we return in the evening tired and satisfied that we have done something for the tranquility of all.

[Question] Your son is a pilot but will your grandson follow the path of his father and grandfather?

[Answer] Our children were born and grew up at airfields. Their childhood was spent there. Nurtured by the roar of aircraft, as young men they remained

with it. For many aviation has become their fate. I am proud that my son has become a pilot.

As for my grandson, it is too early to say what path he will follow. My desire is that he become an honest, industrious and worthy citizen of the motherland and be ready to make his contribution to its socialist development. When he is asked what he wants to be, he automatically replies a cosmonaut. I will be happy if he truly flies in space.

[Question] What are your wishes for the military pilots and all the remaining aviation specialists on the occasion of the holiday?

[Answer] That they be faithful and loyal to the cause of socialism. I wish them most sincerely safe flights, good health, joy and successes in their patriotic, courageous and highly responsible labor in defending the air frontiers of socialist Bulgaria.

#### Order of Minister of Defense

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Order of the Minister of National Defense, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov]

[Text] Comrade soldiers, officer candidates, sergeants and petty officers,

Comrades officers and generals,

Comrades pilots, navigators, engineers and technicians,

Comrades specialists and employees in the system of the Air Forces,

Comrades aviation veterans,

Today the workers of our socialist motherland and its valorous military are solemnly celebrating Air Forces Day.

The glorious jubilees which we have celebrated this year such as the 39th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, the 80th anniversary of the Ilinden-Preobrazhenski [revolt] and the 60th anniversary of the world's first anti-fascist revolt in 1923, further heighten the greatness of this holiday.

The admonishment of the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people, the notable figure of the international workers and communist movement Georgi Dimitrov: "our home skies will always remain our own skies" has been passed on like a torch from generation to generation.

The Bulgarian Air Forces are the heirs of the glorious military and revolutionary traditions of our people who with dignity have defended their liberty and independence for 30 centuries.



They have grown up and developed under the direct concern and leadership of the BCP Central Committee and with the inestimable aid of the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces.

At present, the Bulgarian People's Army [BNA] possesses powerful and modern air forces. Serving in their ranks are ideologically convinced patriots and internationalists who have mastered the modern aviation equipment and achieved high combat skill.

The military-political situation in the world at present is complicated and tense. The reactionary circles of the NATO countries headed by the United States, in a desire to upset in their favor the existing equilibrium of forces between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Alliance, more and more are broadening militaristic preparations and are rearming feverishly. The threat of deploying American medium-range missiles continues to hang over Europe. Military conflagrations continuously break out in various regions of the world. All of this requires constant vigilance and the constant maintaining of the combat readiness of the BNA and its Air Forces on a high level.

The men of the Air Forces are celebrating their holiday with new successes in training and they are carrying out in the troop collectives the demands stemming from the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the theoretical concepts and practical approaches worked out in the reports, speeches and statements of Comrade Todor Zhivkov after it. With a high feeling of responsibility and military valor, they are working to properly celebrate the National Party Conference with higher results in military and political training.

At their holiday, the Air Forces are united and closely rallied around the April line of the BCP Central Committee and are ready at any time to carry out their duty of defending the motherland, socialism and peace in the world.

Comrade soldiers, commanders, political workers, pilots, engineers and specialists of the Air Forces,

I congratulate you most sincerely on the occasion of Air Forces Day, 16 October, and wish you good health, personal happiness and new successes in the struggle to carry out the party's plans and ensure a secure defense for our socialist motherland, Bulgaria.

#### History, Role of Air Forces

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Lt Gen Strakhil Mladenov, chief of the Air Defense and Air Forces Political Section: "Loyal to the Party, Strong in the Skies"]

[Text] On 16 October 1912, during the Balkan War, for the first time in world history, the brave aviation crew of patriots, Radul Milkov and Prodan Tarakchiev, inspired by a love for their people and in showing resourcefulness and initiative, used an aircraft as a weapon over the besieged Odra Fortress. The

military talent of the Bulgarian who in his 30-century history has amazed the world this time not only by implication but actually demonstrated the great future role which aviation would play.

Great October ignited the sparks of a revolutionary fire and the world's first anti-fascist revolt in September 1923 tempered the fighters in the ranks of aviation and prepared them for a decisive storm against fascism. Under the direct influence of the party, the Bulgarian pilots and aviation technicians recorded new pages in the chronicle of our combat aviation. The anti-fascist heroes Ivan Minkov, Ivan Milanov, Asen Agov and Nikolay Petrini perished in the flames of the fierce struggle against brutal fascism.

Banished by fascist power, many Bulgarian pilots and technicians and members of the party and Youth League such as Zakhari Zakhariyev, Nikola Vator, Boris Ganev, Kiril Kirilov and others, found refuge in the great Soviet nation. Led by their international duty, a portion of them took part in the Spanish Civil War. A number of Bulgarian aviators fought in Soviet aviation during the Great Patriotic War.

With the historic victory of 9 September 1944, the Air Forces were taken from the hands of bourgeois-fascist power and turned into a dependable guard for the victories of the people.

Rejuvenated and facing its communist future, our socialist motherland solemnly and with many labor successes is preparing to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. The changes in our country in less than four decades have been so great that they can be compared with the scale of an entire age. This is so because we have been led by the BCP which has been tested in class battles and in the construction of socialism, because we march shoulder to shoulder with the great Soviet Union and because we fly wing to wing with the glorious and invincible Soviet aviators.

The BCP is the main source of the strength and might of our Armed Forces and we do everything possible to worthily and honorably carry out our duty to the party and the people. In the present tense and anxious international situation, this requires even greater strength and need. The personnel of the Air Forces, like all the working people of our nation, are following with alarm and concern the course of unprecedented scope and brazenness pursued by the U.S. government headed by Ronald Reagan of gaining an advantage in weapons.

From the declaration of Comrade Yuriy Andropov, one can understand very precisely and clearly that the CPSU and the Soviet people do not wish to test their nuclear forces and at the same time decisively caution and advise no one to do this.

Inspired by the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and in honor of the National Party Conference and in closely following the complex development of the present-day international situation, the personnel of the Air Forces are working with a high feeling of responsibility to constantly increase combat readiness.

Our pilots are constantly ready to carry out combat missions in the entire speed and altitude range of the aircraft, during the day and at night, under visual and instrument conditions. Indicative of the combat capabilities of the Bulgarian Air Forces are the results of their participation in last year's joint exercise "Shtit-82" [Shield-82] and in other exercises with the Warsaw Pact forces.

At present, a high quality of flight labor is one of the main conditions for improving the combat training and combat preparedness in the air divisions. The precise and prompt fulfillment of the tasks which must be carried out depends on this.

The experience of the aviation units in which Officers Popov, Georgiev and Loginov serve shows that where the training process is correctly organized, where planning is carried out promptly and thoroughly and where supervision over the fulfillment of the planned tasks is exercised effectively, the results are higher.

The maintaining of high training for the flight personnel and combat crews and the raising of combat skills on the basis of an improved organization of military labor hold an important place in increasing the combat readiness of the Air Forces. As an example of this one might mention Officers Ivanov, Riladzhiev, Daev, Tushev, Nenchev, Meshtov, Karanikov, Tsonev, and Mladenov who for years running have carried out their flight missions with high quality.

The experience of the pacesetters in military and political training and in the socialist competition during the last training year again showed that the key to flight skill lies in safe flights, in the organizational work of the commanders and in the mobilizing role of the party and Komsomol organizations.

Working for high quality and safe execution of the flight missions in the aviation units is a large detachment of engineers and technicians, the crews at the command posts, the rear, signals and radar units. Around the clock they invest their highly skilled labor for the sake of one goal, namely that our air fighters during any time of the night or day fly higher, faster and farther. The Officer Engrs Nakov, Krachanov, Asenov, Paraskov and many others are an example in their work.

As a result of the great qualitative changes which have occurred in the weapons, as well as in the training and moral-political state of the personnel, at present our aviation has greatly increased its combat might, combat readiness and flight skills. Cooperation has been improved between the aviation and the Ground Forces and the Navy as well as with the air defense forces. The pilots, technicians, the crews of the command posts, the specialists from the rear, signals and radar units day and night stand vigilant alert duty in defending our air frontiers.

The political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations have played a definite role in the founding and development of the Air Forces. They work effectively to improve the political-moral state of the flyers, to carry out class-party, patriotic and international indoctrination, and to raise the feeling of duty and responsibility in carrying out each task. The political workers

Milkov, Khristov, Kostov and others have shown endeavor and tenacity in improving the quality and contribution of party political work. There are many party and Komsomol secretaries who have become the dependable assistants of the commanders in the struggle for high combat readiness.

The building up and development of our Air Forces would have been inconceivable without the enormous and inestimable aid of the Soviet Union and its victorious armies. Without this aid, without the enormous successes of Soviet aircraft building, without the rich experience of the glorious Soviet pilots who taught us and will always teach us, the creation and successes of our aviation would have been inconceivable.

The personnel of our aviation originates from the people and lives for the same labor deeds, daring and dreams. An expression of this is the readiness with which the Air Forces personnel responds to any initiative and constantly stands guard over our peaceful labor.

The successes of the winged defenders of the home air frontiers are primarily the result of the exceptional concern of the BCP Central Committee and its attention to the arming and training of the Air Forces. In responding to this concern and attention, the Air Forces personnel has worked steadily to realize the admonishment of Georgi Dimitrov: "Our Home Skies Will Always Remain Our Own Skies."

On the day of the military aviation holiday, the men and commanders of the Air Forces send warm greetings to the men of the Ground Forces and Navy and to their brothers in arms from the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries.

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CONSULAR CONVENTION BETWEEN BULGARIA, IRAQ

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 14 Oct 83 pp 1,022-1,031

[Text] Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Consular Convention Between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Republic of Iraq

(Ratified with Ukase No 3,468 of the State Council, dated 3 December 1982--DV, No 97, 1982. Effective as of 3 August 1983)

The Bulgarian People's Republic and the Republic of Iraq,

Guided by the common objective of maintaining, developing and intensifying friendly relations between the two countries in the spirit of the principles of the United Nations Charter, and

Desirous of regulating consular relations between the two countries,

Have resolved to conclude the present convention, to which purpose they have agreed on the following:

Chapter I

Article 1

Definitions

For purposes of the present convention the terms listed below are to be interpreted as follows:

1. "Consulate" means any general consulate, consulate, vice consulate or consular agency;
2. "Consular district" means the territory assigned to the consulate for the performance of its consular functions;
3. "Chief of consulate" means the individual assigned to act as such;
4. "Consular official" means any individual, including the chief of consulate, to whom the implementation of consular functions has been assigned;

5. "Consular associate" means any individual performing administrative or technical tasks in the consulate;
6. "Member of the servicing personnel" means any individual performing custodial services in the consulate;
7. "Members of the consulate" means consular officials, consular associates and members of the servicing personnel;
8. "Member of the individual personnel" means an individual appointed exclusively to provide personal services to a member of the consulate;
9. "Member of the family" means the wife (husband), their children and parents supported by the member of the consulate and living with him;
10. "Consular premise" means the building or part of the building, including the residence of the chief of consulate and the terrain of the consulate, used exclusively for consular purposes, regardless of ownership;
11. "Consular archives" means all papers, documents, correspondents, books, seals, stamps, films, tape recordings, consular record books and code books and ciphers, files and objects used for storing them;
12. "Ship of the sending country" means any vessel with the exception of military ships sailing under the flag and the nationality of the sending country, registered in accordance with that country's legislation;
13. "Airplane of the sending country" means any flying ship of the nationality of the sending country, with the markings of the country, legally registered in the country, with the exception of military aircraft.

## Chapter II

### Consular Relations

#### Article 2

##### Opening a Consulate

1. Either contracting party can open a consulate on the other's territory. The opening of each consulate is a subject of agreement by the host country.
2. The seat of the consulate, its rank, limits of consular jurisdiction and size of the consular personnel are based on agreements between the sending and directing country.
3. Any subsequent change in the seat of the consulate, its ranks, limits of jurisdiction or personnel size may be made only on the basis of an agreement between the sending and receiving country.

### Article 3

#### Consular Patent and Exequatur

1. The sending country must request in advance through diplomatic channels the agreement of the accepting country for the appointment of a chief of consulate.
2. After agreement has been received, the sending country submits a consular patent to the accepting country through diplomatic channels. The patent lists the full name and status of the chief of consulate, the seat of the consulate and the boundaries of its jurisdiction.
3. After the accepting country has issued the exequatur, the chief of consulate may begin to perform his functions. Prior to issuing the exequatur the accepting country may allow the chief of consulate to perform his consular functions on a temporary basis.

The stipulations of the present convention shall apply in such cases.

4. From the moment that the chief of consulate has been allowed even temporarily to perform his functions, the accepting country must immediately inform the competent organs within the consular district of this fact and to take the necessary steps enabling the chief of consulate to perform his consular functions.

### Article 4

#### Temporary Exercise of the Functions of Chief of Consulate

1. If the chief of consulate is unable to exercise his functions or if the position of chief of consulate is vacant, a consular official in the same consulate or another consulate of the sending country to the accepting country or a diplomatic official from the sending country to the accepting country may temporarily exercise the functions of chief of consulate.
2. The full name of the temporary chief of consulate must be reported to the accepting country in advance through diplomatic channels.
3. The temporary chief of consulate is granted the rights, facilities, privileges and immunities of a chief of consulate in accordance with the present convention.

### Article 5

#### Informing on the Appointment of Consular Officials

1. The sending country must inform in advance the accepting country through diplomatic channels of the full name and rank of consular officials with the exception of the chief of consulate.

2. The sending country must inform the accepting country in advance through diplomatic channels the initial arrival and definitive departure of a consular official and the members of his family in the accepting country.

#### Article 6

##### Citizenship of a Consular Official

Any individual appointed in a consular position must be a citizen of the sending country and cannot be a permanent resident of the accepting country.

#### Article 7

##### Identification Document

1. The competent authorities of the accepting country issue free of charge to the consular official a special document certifying his identity and rank.
2. The stipulations of Point 1 of this article equally apply to the consular personnel, members of the servicing personnel and members of the personal personnel providing that said individuals are not citizens of the accepting country or else are citizens of the sending country and are not permanent residents in the accepting country.
3. The stipulations of this article also apply to the members of the families of the individuals stipulated in points 1 and 2 of the present article.

### Chapter III

#### Consular Functions

#### Article 8

##### Objective of Consular Functions

The following are considered consular activities:

1. Protecting the rights and interests of the sending country and its citizens and juridical persons in the accepting country.
2. Providing aid and assistance to the citizens and juridical persons of the sending country.
3. Developing trade, economic, cultural, scientific and tourist relations between the sending and accepting countries.
4. Obtaining information by all legal means on the development of the trade, economic, cultural, scientific, and tourist life in the accepting country.



5. Encouraging by all possible means the development of friendly relations between the two countries in accordance with the stipulations of the present convention.

## Article 9

### Exercise of Consular Functions

1. A consular official exercises his functions within the limits of the consular district. With the agreement of the accepting country, he may exercise his functions beyond the limits of the consular district as well.

2. In the course of exercising his functions, the consular official may address himself to:

a) The competent local authorities within the limits of the consular district;

b) The competent central authorities of the accepting country, to the extent to which this is allowed by the legislation and practices of the accepting country.

3. A consular official can establish direct contacts with the ministry of foreign affairs of the accepting country wherever the sending country maintains no diplomatic mission.

4. Consular functions may be exercised by a diplomatic official of the diplomatic mission of the sending country in the accepting country. In such cases the privileges and immunities granted by his diplomatic status remain.

## Article 10

### Registration of Citizens of the Sending Country

The consular official has the right to register the citizens of the sending country who reside on a permanent or temporary basis within the consular district. Such registration does not relieve such citizens of the obligation to observe the legislation of the accepting country in terms of the registration of foreign citizens.

## Article 11

### Issuing Passports and Visas

The consular official has the right:

1. To issue passports and other travel documents of citizens of the sending country, to renew, amend or extend the validity and to annul such passports and other documents.

2. To issue visas.

## Article 12

### Functions Related to Civic Status

#### 1. The consular official has the right:

a) To accept all declarations related to the civic status of the citizens of the sending country;

b) To register and receive reports and documents related to marriages, births and deaths of citizens of the sending country;

c) To perform marriages in accordance with the legislation of the sending country, providing that both individuals are its citizens.

2. The stipulations of Point 1 of the present article do not relieve the interested citizens from obligations stemming from the legislation of the accepting country concerning the registration of marriages, births and deaths.

3. The competent authorities of the accepting country must inform as quickly as possible, but no later than within 7 days, the consulate of the sending country of the death of any one of its citizens on the territory of the accepting country, as well as in cases of severe accidents which require aid and assistance.

## Article 13

### Representation of Citizens in Courts or Other Authorities of the Accepting Country

1. The consular official has the right, in accordance with the legislation of the accepting country, to represent in court or in other authorities of the accepting country physical and juridical persons of the sending country and to take the proper steps to provide them with legal defense, should such individuals, due to their absence or for any other reason, be unable to assume promptly the defense of their rights and interests.

2. Such representation as per Point 1 of this article is terminated the moment the represented individual appoints his representative or undertakes to defend his rights and interests personally.

## Article 14

### Submission of Documents

The consular official has the right to submit judicial and nonjudicial documents of citizens of the sending country residing in the receiving country.

## Article 15

### Functions Related to Wardship and Guardianship

1. A consular official has the right, within the limits of the legislation of the accepting country, to protect the interests of individuals who are minor or incapacitated and are citizens of the sending country, including the nomination of an individual as guardian or trustee of such citizens.
2. The competent authorities of the accepting country inform in writing the consulate of cases requiring a guardianship or trusteeship for a citizen of the sending country who is either minor or incapacitated.

## Article 16

### Notary Functions

1. The consular official has the right, in accordance with the legislation of the accepting country, to perform the following functions:
  - a) To accept, draft, legalize and certify declarations submitted by citizens of the sending country;
  - b) To draft, certify or receive for safekeeping last wills and testaments of citizens of the sending country;
  - c) To accept, draft, legalize or certify documents related to legal deals, with the exception of those which generate or transfer property rights on real estate located in the accepting country;
  - d) To legalize the signatures of citizens of the sending country on all documents;
  - e) To legalize the signatures and seals on documents issued by the organs of the sending or accepting country and to legalize copies, translations or extracts of such documents;
  - f) To receive objects and documents from citizens of the sending country or addressed to them;
  - g) To translate documents and to certify the accuracy of the translation;
  - h) To perform other notary functions as assigned by the sending country.
2. Documents stipulated in Point 1 of the present article, drafted, legalized, certified or translated by the consular official, are legally valid and constitute proof in the accepting country if drafted, legalized, certified or translated by competent authorities in that country, as long as they do not violate the legislation of the accepting country.

## Article 17

### Inheritance Functions

1. In the case of the death of a citizen of the sending country on the territory of the accepting country, the competent authorities of the latter must immediately submit to the respective consulate available information related to the inheritance or last will, the heirs and their permanent or temporary residents. Said organs must also inform the consulate of the sending country of any known case of the deceased having left a legacy in a third country.
2. The competent authorities of the accepting country must immediately inform the consulate of the sending country should the legacy go to a citizen of the sending country as the legitimate heir or to other interested individuals.
3. The competent authorities of the accepting country must inform the consulate of the sending country of the steps taken by them to protect and manage the legacy left by the citizen of the sending country on the territory of the accepting country. The consular official may provide his assistance personally or else take the measures stipulated in this item through a legal representative.

The consular official has the right:

a) To safeguard the rights of physical and juridical persons from the sending country in matters of inheritance in accordance with the legislation of the accepting country;

b) To supervise the transfer of funds, valuables and other movable property to which the physical and juridical individuals of the sending country are entitled by virtue of their inheritance on the territory of the accepting country. The transfer must take place in accordance with the legislation of the accepting country.

4. When the procedure related to an inheritance on the territory of the accepting country has been completed, the movable inherited property or funds from the sale of movable property and real estate to which the citizen of the sending country is entitled as an interested individual, as a legitimate heir or as listed in the last will and testament, not living in the accepting country and not being present or being represented in the case, must be submitted to the consulate for transfer to the interested individual or the legal heir subject to:

a) The approval of the authorities of the accepting country for the transfer of funds or property from that country to the sending country in accordance with the legislation of the accepting country and the principles of reciprocity;

b) Paying or ensuring the payment of all obligations on the declared inheritance within the legal deadlines stipulated by the legislation of the accepting country;

- c) Defining the status of heir or entitled individual;
- d) Paying or seeing to the payment of inheritance taxes.

5. If a citizen of the sending country, temporarily residing on the territory of the accepting country, were to die, his money and personal objects, with the exception of those acquired in the accepting country and the export of which is forbidden at the time he died, are delivered to the consulate of the sending country without formalities.

The export of personal items and transfer of funds are based on the legislation of the accepting country.

#### Article 18

##### Navigation Functions

The consular official has the right to give all possible assistance to vessels of the sending country and to the members of their crews during their stay in the territorial or internal waters of the accepting country. He may take all the necessary measures to apply the legislation of the sending country regarding navigation. To this effect he can also visit the ships of the sending country and be visited by the captain and the members of the crew in accordance with the stipulations prevailing in the ports of the accepting country.

#### Article 19

##### Ship- and Crew-Related Functions

1. Without violating the rights of the competent authorities of the accepting country, the consular official has the right:

- a) To conduct an investigation aboard the ship of the sending country, interrogate the captain or any other member of the crew of the ship of the sending country, control, accept and certify ship documents, receive information on the ship's travel and engage in other activities aimed at facilitating the entry, stay and departure of the ship;

- b) To resolve any disputes between the captain and the other members of the crew, including those related to labor contracts and working conditions;

- c) To engage in activities related to the hiring or laying off of the captain or a member of the crew;

- d) Take all the necessary steps to ensure the hospital treatment and repatriation of the captain or a member of the crew;

- e) To accept, draft and certify all declarations or other documents related to navigation, as stipulated by the laws of the sending country;

f) To obtain information and documents on births and deaths, drafted by the ship's captain, or last wills accepted during the travel;

g) To render all possible assistance to the captain or a member of the crew in connection with court cases or deals with other competent authorities of the accepting country.

2. The consular official may seek assistance from the organs of the accepting country in the exercise of his functions stipulated in Point 1 of the present article.

3. The authorities of the accepting country cannot interfere in the internal affairs of the ship as long as the public order ashore and in the port is not disturbed or the public safety and security of the accepting country are not violated.

4. The consular official has the right, in accordance with the legislation of the accepting country, to accompany the captain or any member of the crew who has been summoned to appear in court or by other authorities of the accepting country.

## Article 20

### Aboard-Ship Investigation

1. Should the competent authorities of the accepting country intend to engage in coercive activities or launch an official investigation aboard a ship of the sending country located in the territorial or internal waters of the accepting country, said authorities must inform the respective consular official of that fact. Such information must be submitted on time, thus enabling the consular official to be present at the time of their conduct. Should the consular official or his representative be prevented from attending such activities, on their request the competent authorities of the accepting country shall submit to them the complete information on the conducted activities.

2. The stipulations of Point 1 of this article also apply when the competent authorities of the accepting country would like to interrogate the captain of the ship or any other member of the crew of a ship belonging to the sending country.

3. The competent authorities of the accepting country may conduct an investigation aboard the ship in an emergency situation without waiting for the permission of the consular official of the sending country in the following cases:

a) If the consequences of a crime extend to the accepting country;

b) If the committed crime is of a nature to disturb the calm of the accepting country or the procedure prevailing in its territorial or internal waters;

c) If the assistance of the local organs has been requested by the ship's captain or the consular official of the sending country under whose flag the ship is sailing;

d) If necessary in order to stop the illegal carrying of narcotics.

In such cases the competent authorities of the accepting country must inform within the shortest possible time the consulate of the sending country of the measures they have taken.

4. The stipulations of points 1 and 2 of the present article do not apply to customs, passport, sanitary and port control by the maritime administration or the need to rescue a human life at sea, to prevent the pollution of sea waters or other actions undertaken on the request and by permission of the ship's captain.

#### Article 21

##### Aid in Accident

1. If a vessel of the sending country has been shipwrecked, becomes stuck or thrown ashore or suffered any other accident inside the territorial or internal waters of the accepting country, or if any item belonging to the ship or part of the load of any shipwrecked vessel, owned by the sending country or by a citizen of that country, has been found in the accepting country, the competent authorities of the country must inform as quickly as possible the consular official of the sending country of the fact. The official is also informed of the steps taken to rescue the ship, the people, the freight and other property aboard the ship or other objects which are part of the freight and have been separated from the ship.

2. The consular official can provide all possible assistance to the ship, the members of the crew and the passengers and take measures to rescue the freight and to have the ship repaired. He may address himself to the authorities of the accepting country and request them to take similar steps.

3. If the owner, captain or any other legal representative is unable to take the necessary measures to protect and ensure the further handling of the boat and its freight, the consular official may undertake on behalf of the ship's owner, the type of steps which the owner himself would take to this purpose.

4. The competent authorities of the accepting country must give the consular official, on his request, the necessary aid in all steps which must be taken in the case of a boat which has suffered an accident.

5. A ship which has suffered an accident, its freight and the ship's documents are not subject to customs fees on the territory of the accepting country providing that they are not to be used or consumed in that country.

## Article 22

### Civil Aviation Functions

The stipulations of articles 18, 19, 20 and 21 apply to airplanes of the sending country, based on the legislation of the accepting country.

## Article 23

### Other Consular Functions

The consular official may perform functions assigned to him by the sending country other than those stipulated in the present convention with the advance approval of the accepting country and in accordance with the country's legislation.

## Article 24

### Termination of the Functions of a Member of the Consulate

1. At any time the accepting country may inform the sending country of the fact that a consular official is "persona non grata" or else that a member of the consulate or of the servicing personnel is unacceptable. In such cases the sending country will recall the individual in question or terminate his functions in the consulate.
2. Should the sending country fail to carry out its obligations as per Point 1 of the present article within a reasonable time, the accepting country may, if warranted, withdraw the exequatur for the respective individual or no longer consider him a member of the consulate.
3. In the cases stipulated in points 1 and 2 of the present article, the accepting country is not obliged to report to the sending country the reasons for its decision.

## Chapter IV

### Privileges, Facilities and Immunities

## Article 25

### Facilities Granted to the Consulate and Its Members

The accepting country will provide all necessary facilities for the implementation of the consulate's functions and will take all the necessary steps to enable the members of the consulate to perform their functions and to benefit from the facilities, privileges and immunities granted as per the present convention.



## Article 26

### Use of Seal and State Flag

1. The seal and name of the sending country may be affixed on the building and at the entrance of the consulate in the languages of the sending and accepting countries.
2. The flag of the sending country may be hoisted on the building of the consulate, the residence of the chief of consulate and the transportation facilities of the chief of consulate when used for official purposes only.

## Article 27

### Facilities in Obtaining Premises for the Consulate and Housing for Consulate Members

1. The sending country has the right to acquire, own or use by whatever suitable means stipulated in the legislation of the accepting country lots, buildings or parts of buildings for the needs of the consulate or housing premises for the consulate members, who are citizens of the sending country.
2. The accepting country will provide the sending country the necessary help in acquiring lots and buildings or parts of buildings for the needs stipulated in Point 1 of this article.
3. The sending country is not released of the obligation to observe the building and urban construction legislation of the accepting country.

## Article 28

### Inviolability of Consular Premises and Residences of Consular Officials

1. Consular premises and the residences of consular officials are inviolable. The authorities of the accepting country may not enter them without the permission of the chief of consulate, the chief of the diplomatic mission of the sending country or the individual appointed by either of them.
2. The accepting country has the special obligation to take all necessary measures to prevent the occupation or harming of the consular premises and residences of consular officials, the causing of disturbances in consular premises or the violation of the consulate's dignity.
3. Consular premises, their furnishings and all other objects within them and consular vehicles may not be subject to searches, appropriations, confiscations or other coercive measures.

Should a confiscation become necessary for public purposes, in accordance with the legislation of the accepting country, the competent authorities of the country must take all the necessary measures to avoid creating difficulties for the exercise of consular functions and must immediately pay suitable and effective compensations to the sending country.

## Article 29

### Financial Exemptions Related to Consular Premises and Residences of Consular Officials and Vehicles

1. Consular premises and residences of consular members owned or leased by the sending country as well as deals and documents related to the acquisition of such property are exempt from all national, regional or municipal fees and taxes of any kind other than those constituting payment for services rendered.
2. The exemptions of Point 1 of the present article do not apply if the fees and taxes based on the legislation of the accepting country are payable by an individual who has contracted with the sending country or an individual acting on his behalf.
3. The sending country is exempt from the payment of any taxes and fees on the territory of the accepting country related to movable property owned by the sending country or used by it or in the acquisition of such property.
4. The exemption stipulated in Point 1 of the present article applies to transportation vehicles owned by the sending country used in the performance of consular functions.

## Article 30

### Inviolability of Consular Files

Consular files are inviolable at all times and regardless of their location.

## Article 31

### Freedom of Communications

1. The accepting country allows and protects the freedom of communications of the consulate for official purposes. In its relations with the government, the diplomatic missions and other consulates of the sending country, wherever they may be, the consulate may use all suitable means of communication, including diplomatic and consular couriers, diplomatic and consular pouches and coded and ciphered communications. The consulate may install and use a radio transmitter only by permission of the accepting country.
2. The official correspondence of the consulate is inviolable. The term official correspondence applies to all correspondence related to the consulate and its functions.
3. The consular pouch is inviolable and may not be opened or detained. Should the competent authorities of the accepting country have major reasons to believe that the pouch contains items other than correspondence, documents or objects indicated in Point 4 of this article, they may return the pouch to the sender.

4. The consular pouch must be sealed and the packages of the consular pouch must have clear marks on the outside indicating their nature. They may contain exclusively official correspondence and documents or objects for strictly official use.

5. Unless the agreement of the accepting country has been granted, the consular courier may not be a citizen of the accepting country or a citizen of the sending country permanently residing in the accepting country.

The consular courier enjoys individual immunity and may not be arrested or detained in any way. In the course of the performance of his functions he is protected by the accepting country. The consular courier is issued a special document certifying his status.

6. The consular pouch may be entrusted to the captain of an airplane or ship. The captain must have an official document indicating the number of packages of the pouch. However, he is not considered a consular courier. By agreement with the respective authorities of the accepting country, the consulate may send one of its members to take possession of the pouch directly and without obstruction from the captain of the airplane or the ship or to deliver the pouch to him.

#### Article 32

#### Establishing Contacts with the Citizens of the Sending Country and Their Protection

With a view to facilitating the exercise of consular functions related to citizens of the sending country:

1. Within the limits of his consular district, the consular official has the right freely to establish contact with the citizens of the sending country, to have access to them and to provide them with the necessary assistance. The citizens of the sending country enjoy the same freedom in contacting and having access to the consular official of the sending country.

2. The competent authorities of the accepting country must inform within 7 days the consulate of the sending country should a citizen of that country be arrested, detained, put in jail or deprived of his freedom in any manner within the limits of the consular district.

Any communication addressed to the consulate by a person who has been arrested, detained, is in jail or has been deprived of freedom in any way must be promptly delivered by said authorities.

3. The consular official has the right to visit the citizen of the sending country who has been arrested, detained, is in jail or has been deprived of freedom in any way, within a 10-day period, to discuss and correspond with him and to take steps to secure his legal defense in court. Such actions must be consistent with the legislation of the accepting country.

4. The consular official has the right to be in touch with and visit a citizen of the sending country serving a sentence. This action must be consistent with the legislation of the accepting country.

5. The competent authorities of the accepting country must inform the interested individual of his rights as per this article.

#### Article 33

##### Freedom of Movement

The accepting country takes the necessary measures to ensure the freedom of movement of the members of the consulate on their territory in accordance with the legislation of the accepting country regarding restricted areas or areas subject to special regulations based on considerations of national security or the public interest.

#### Article 34

##### Consular Fees

1. The consulate in the accepting country may collect fees and other payments as stipulated in the legislation of the sending country for the performance of consular services.

2. The funds collected as per Point 1 of the present article are not subject to any taxes and fees of the accepting country.

#### Article 35

##### Protection of Consular Officials

The accepting country shall treat the consular officials with proper respect and shall take all necessary measures to prevent any violation whatsoever of their person, freedom or dignity.

#### Article 36

##### Immunity of Consular Officials

1. The consular official shall enjoy immunity from the penal jurisdiction of the accepting country. He will also enjoy immunity in terms of civil and administrative jurisdiction with the following exceptions:

a) Material claims related to personal real estate on the territory of the accepting country, unless it is owned on behalf of the sending country for consular purposes;

b) Claims related to inheritance, in the course of which the consular official acts as the executor of the will or manager of the inherited property, as a legitimate or appointed heir, as an individual, rather than on behalf of the sending country;

c) Claims related to all professional or commercial activities conducted by the consular official in the accepting country outside the limits of his official functions;

d) Any case filed by a third person for damages caused in the accepting country by a vehicle, ship or airplane.

2. No coercive steps may be taken against a consular official with the exception of the cases stipulated in letters a), b), c) and d) of Point 1 of the present article, and only providing that the corresponding steps may be taken without violating the inviolability of his person or his residence.

3. The stipulations of points 1 and 2 of the present article also apply to the members of the family of the consular official, providing that they are citizens of the sending country and do not have permanent residence in the accepting country.

4. The immunity enjoyed by a consular official in terms of the jurisdiction of the accepting country does not free him from the jurisdiction of the sending country.

#### Article 37

##### Consular Personnel Immunity

1. A member of the consulate enjoys immunity from the jurisdiction of the accepting country for activities conducted in the performance of his official functions.

2. The stipulations of Point 1 of the present article do not apply to civil claims as indicated in letters a), b), c) and d) of Point 1 of Article 36 of the present convention.

#### Article 38

##### Information of Arrest, Detention or Trial

Should a member of the consulate or its servicing personnel be arrested or detained or should penal procedures be instigated against him, the accepting country shall immediately inform the chief of consulate of the fact.

#### Article 39

##### Testimony Obligation

1. The consular official is not obliged to give testimony in court.

2. Consular personnel and members of the servicing personnel may be summoned as witnesses in court and administrative cases. The consular personnel and servicing personnel members, with the exception of the cases stipulated in Point 3 of the present article, may not refuse to testify. In cases of refusal they may be subjected to coercive measures.

3. Consular associates and members of the servicing personnel are not obligated to testify on matters related to their official activities or to present official correspondence or documents. They also have the right to refuse to testify as experts in terms of the legislation of the sending country.

#### Article 40

##### Exemption of Foreigners' Registration and Residential Permits

1. Consular officials and consular personnel and their families are exempt from any obligation based on the accepting country's legislation in terms of foreigners' registration and residential permits.

2. The stipulations of Point 1 of the present article do not apply to individuals who are citizens of the accepting country and are temporarily employed at the consulate, or else citizens of the sending country who are permanent residents in the accepting country.

#### Article 41

##### Exemption From Taxes and Fees

1. Consular officials and personnel and members of their families are exempt from all national and local taxes and fees of the accepting country.

2. The exemption stipulated in Point 1 of the present article does not include:

a) Indirect taxes normally included in prices of commodities and services;

b) Taxes and fees on personal real estate on the territory of the accepting country, without violating the stipulations of Article 17;

c) Taxes and fees collected by the accepting country on inheritance on its territory, as well as any transfer of ownership, without violating the stipulations of Article 17;

d) Taxes and fees on any type of income earned in the accepting country, with the exception of income earned in the performance of official duties;

e) Fees for registration, court fees, mortgage fees and fees on real estate stamps, without violating the stipulations of Article 29.

3. The members of the servicing personnel are exempt from all taxes and fees on their wages from official activities at the consulate, providing that they are not citizens of the accepting country and are not permanent residents of that country.

## Article 42

### Customs and Control Exemption

1. The accepting country shall allow the import of and exempt from customs, taxes and related fees, with the exception of warehousing, transportation, and other similar service fees, objects and transportation facilities for:

a) Official use by the consulate;

b) Private use by the consular official or members of his family. Consumer objects must not exceed the amounts needed to meet the immediate requirements of the interested individuals.

2. The members of the consulate shall enjoy the privileges and exemptions stipulated in letter b), Point 1 of the present article in terms of objects brought into the country during their first arrival.

3. The personal luggage of consular officials and members of their families shall not be subject to customs control.

Personal baggage may be checked only if there are serious suspicions that it contains objects other than those stipulated in letters a) and b) of Point 1 of the present article or objects the import and export of which is forbidden by the legislation of the accepting country or which are subject to its quarantine laws and regulations. Such investigations may take place in the presence of the interested consular official or a member of his family and in the presence of a representative of the ministry of foreign affairs of the accepting country.

## Article 43

### Exemption in the Case of Death of a Member of the Consulate

In the case of the death of a member of the consulate or a member of his family, the accepting country:

1. Shall allow the export of the movable property of the deceased, with the exception of property acquired in the accepting country, the export of which was forbidden at the time of the death of the individual. In that case the property shall be delivered to the consulate.

2. It shall not collect any taxes and fees on movable property acquired during the stay in the country of the deceased as a member of the consulate or as a member of the family of a member of the consulate.

## Article 44

### Special Immunity and Privilege Stipulations

1. The consular personnel and members of the servicing personnel shall not benefit from the immunity and privileges stipulated in this convention if

they are citizens of the accepting country or citizens of the sending country with permanent residence in the accepting country, or else are citizens of third countries.

2. The members of the families of consular personnel and members of the servicing personnel shall benefit from the privileges enjoyed by the individuals who support them in accordance with the stipulations of the present convention, providing that they are not citizens of the accepting country or citizens of the sending country with a permanent residence in the accepting country, or else citizens of a third country or engaged in profit-oriented activities in the accepting country.

3. The legislation of the accepting country shall be applied in the case of individuals stipulated in points 1 and 2 of the present article providing that consular activities are not disturbed.

#### Article 45

##### Denial of Immunities and Privileges

1. The sending country may deny a member of the consulate any and all privileges and immunities stipulated in the present convention, providing that this denial is absolute and reported in writing to the accepting country.

2. The instigation of a court case by a member of the consulate benefitting from immunity from jurisdiction as per the stipulations of Point 1 of Article 31 and Point 1 of Article 37 shall deprive him of the right to refer to such immunity in terms of any counterclaim related to the basic claim.

3. Denial of immunity from jurisdiction in civil and administrative cases does not mean rejection of immunity in terms of the implementation of a court decision, which requires a separate refusal.

#### Article 46

##### Beginning and End of Privileges and Immunities

1. A member of the consulate shall enjoy the privileges and immunities stipulated in this convention from the moment of his entry on the territory of the accepting country, in the course of his travel to his position or if he already is on the country's territory, the moment he begins his duties at the consulate.

2. The members of the family of a member of the consulate shall enjoy the privileges and immunities stipulated in this convention as of:

a) The moment the member of the consulate has been granted the privileges and immunities as per Point 1 of the present article;

b) The moment they have entered the territory of the accepting country;



c) The moment at which they become members of the family of a member of the consulate.

3. After the functions of the member of a consulate have been concluded, his privileges and immunities and those of the members of his family are terminated as of the time when the interested individual leaves the accepting country or after the expiration of the deadline given to him for this purpose.

The privileges and immunities of the individuals indicated in Point 2 of the present article are terminated when they stop being members of the family of a member of the consulate. Should such individuals intend to leave the territory of the accepting country within a reasonable time, their privileges and immunities are retained until the time of their departure.

4. In terms of actions committed by a member of the consulate in the performance of his functions, immunity from jurisdiction is retained without time limitations.

5. In the case of the death of a member of the consulate, the members of his family continue to enjoy their privileges and immunities until their departure from the accepting country or the stipulated deadline to this effect.

#### Article 47

##### Notification of Arrival and Departure

The ministry of foreign affairs of the accepting country shall be informed:

1. Of the arrival and final departure of the members of the family of a member of the consulate and whenever an individual becomes or no longer is a member of his family.
2. On the arrival or final departure of the members of the servicing personnel and the termination of their functions.
3. On the hiring or release from work of individuals who are permanent residents in the accepting country as consular personnel or as members of the servicing personnel.

#### Article 48

##### Observing the Legislation of the Accepting Country

1. Without violating the privileges and immunities stipulated in the present convention, their beneficiaries must observe the legislation of the accepting country. They must also not interfere in the internal affairs of said country.
2. The consular premises must not be used for activities incompatible with the performance of consular functions.

Article 49

Insurance for Damages Caused to Third Persons

Vehicles owned by the sending country and used for official purposes or are owned by a member of the consulate or members of his family shall be ensured against risk.

Chapter V

Final Stipulations

Article 50

Ratification, Effectiveness, Termination

1. The present convention is subject to ratification in accordance with the constitutional requirements of each of the two countries. It will become effective 30 days after the date of the exchange of ratification documents.
2. The ratification documents will be exchanged in Baghdad.
3. The present convention shall remain effective for a term of 5 years; it shall be automatically renewed every year unless either one of the countries informs the other country in writing no less than 6 months prior to the deadline mentioned above of its desire to amend or terminate it.

Drafted in Sofia on 7 September 1982 in two copies, in Bulgarian, Arabic and English languages, all three texts considered equally valid. In the case of differences in the interpretation of the Bulgarian and Arabic texts the English text will be considered authentic.

For the Bulgarian People's Republic:

Todor Netsov, ambassador, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

For the government of the Republic of Iraq: Rafi Sharif Taqa, ambassador,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

5003

CSO: 2200/20

ELECTION REFORM RAISES INSECURITY FEELINGS AMONG LOCAL LEADERS

Budapest ÉLET ÉS IRODALOM in Hungarian 28 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Zoltán Speidl: "The Road of Retreat"]

[Text] In reading Erzsébet Hallam's report ("On the Other Side of the Table," ÉLET ÉS IRODALOM, No. 40), I remember what happened to an old acquaintance of mine. His office is neither small nor big, but is a leading position, and in the small town where he lives and works he is among the "somebodies." He feels he should give up his position for it is ever more difficult for him to face his responsibilities. But he does not see the possibility for retreat. For in this town he cannot accept a lower position. Not because it would be beneath his dignity but because it is well known that, here and today, he who steps down is a fallen man. He is fallen even if he steps down voluntarily and with good intent when this is the only decent action in the given situation.

Such attempts of resignation are rather uncommon, but the road of retreat will soon concern many more people.

I have asked three town council chairmen recently about the election bill. All three of them take care of 2,500 or 3,000 people. They are also similar in that none of them fought for the office. One of them was chief agronomist, the other two were grade school teachers earlier. There was a single concern that was repeatedly raised during the talk; it became apparent that in talking about "that," they were talking for many people.

These three chairmen (and undoubtedly many other people) are not concerned about "power" or the 5,000 or 6,000-forint paychecks; they only feel insecure. For they expect that the new election process will make it harder for them to be re-elected than before. I did not have a reason earlier to doubt what they said, so I believe them now when they say that their greatest concern is not having to step down from the chairmanship but it is the question, what next?

The former chief agronomist is concerned. If he does not get re-elected, what job is he going to take? He is settled and feels at home in the town, but all cooperatives in the area have agronomists and chief agronomists. He would have a job only if one would be created for him. This he would not find

decent, however, and knows that the stigma would haunt him for a long time: the job was created for the "fallen" man. And, finally, he has been chairman for more than 10 years and thus he fell behind in his profession. True, he knows much--and may even be an expert--about anything between culture and economics, but he could hardly make a living from that.

The former teacher also has had a long face recently. He has been chairman for 17 years, and has many friends and enemies. Whatever happens, he says, he has his degree, and will go back to teaching. After a few sentences, however, it becomes clear that this is only an apparent security, for he asks himself, "What will happen if the children will not accept me? Or my colleagues? And what if I cannot accept them?" This chairman will be 53 years old in 1985 when he might have to leave his office. At that age it is an excruciating task to make a change, to change leadership to subordination, to bring one's worn knowledge up to date.

I sympathize with their concern and the concern of many people who acquired an office (at times only after lengthy persuasion) and now are afraid of the future even if they accept theoretically that it should have been achieved much earlier (and in more places) that an office not be held for a lifetime. The trouble is, there is no system (or tactics or strategy) in our country for a decent retreat of decent people; it is still uncommon for someone to return where he was before without considering himself, or without being considered by others, a fallen man.

I do not know, I only believe that from now on, there will be a faster turnover of officers. Either because they are not doing their job right or because it will be time to go. But according to today's practice, he who is unsuitable for leadership will step down from a higher office to a lower one, and still a lower one. This happens because, among other things, in the lack of an appropriate retreat, appearances are being preserved not only by the person sitting in the chair but also by the person helping him acquire the chair. For although they do not say it aloud, many people accept leading positions thinking deep down that they will stay there until retirement and if someone is going to change, it can only be a step upward. Today it is still blatant moral turpitude or incompetence in leadership that is needed for demolishing a nicely designed career plan. Perhaps this is why we are suspicious even where we should not be, for what is happening (mostly in isolated cases) is what should generally happen.

Fortunately, I could mention examples that today's exceptions are increasing in number and that people who had done many things right and wrong may leave their positions that are apparently very solid. Those who had done many things wrong are not to be blamed for holding their office longer than it was necessary, that they did not have to leave earlier when they could still make a good use of their energies.

I hope that the chairmen's concern, acknowledged by many people, is a sign of change for the better. And I hope that those who are prepared to leave after a prescribed period of honest work will not be fallen persons.

9414

CSO: 2500/51

## HUNGARY

### STUDENT CULTURAL EXCHANGES NEEDED TO AUGMENT MINORITY SCHOOLS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 28 Oct 83 p 1

[Editorial by Istvan Gabor: "Nationality Schools"]

[Text] "It is not rare that Hungarian parents also take advantage of the opportunity of learning a national minority language and enroll their child in language classes. For example in Magyarcsanak in Csongrad county in grades 1 through 3 everyone has been studying Romanian for the 3d straight year. Similarly in Vertessomlo all first graders (including the Hungarians) are enrolled in German." This interesting finding can be read in the presentation the education working committee of the Patriotic People's Front prepared about the activities of the parents' work partnerships of elementary schools where national minority language is the language of instruction, or where national minority languages are taught. From summarizing the experience--which in the spring of this year covered almost 70 schools in 14 counties--a generally favorable picture developed also about the total of 327 such educational institutions.

Even though due to its assignment the working committee on education studied and discussed primarily the activity of parents' work partnerships, processing of the experience also extended over the whole work of the national minority schools. The fact that in areas inhabited by national minorities many parents take part in the cultural activities of the pioneers which naturally also affects the cultural and intellectual growth of the children, qualifies not only the parents' work partnerships but also the school administrations. Thus, for example, the parents also aid the German cultural activities of the Etyek pioneer troop. In Piliscseve in the elementary school which teaches the Slovak language, the father of one student leads the carpentry special interest group. And in Bonyhad--where the students also study the German language--the parents are participating in collecting folklore memorabilia and in organizing various exhibits.

We could list a number of interesting programs and initiatives, but this time we will mention only one from among the many, that there are some national minority villages where several German families will invite a pioneer patrol for a meal and at such times they cook traditional German dishes. 'In the Slovenian villages in Vas county a competition is being organized--combined with intellectual and sports events--between the pioneer troop and the parents, and in the Slovak language elementary school and high school in

Budapest it has been a well developed tradition that the schools in the districts invite a class as guests. This visit is coupled with collecting work, and the classrooms and the school's hallways are decorated with the folklore items and mementoes found while doing this.

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It is natural that in those localities where national minority language education takes place or where school as a whole is in the national minority language, the questions related to this are discussed also at the parents meetings. Thus the various problems of language education such as, for example, maintaining and preserving the native language, opportunities for continued education besides the gymnaziums [high-schools] in the specialized secondary trade schools, exchange of children with those countries the language of which they learn in school, come up often at these meetings.

It is important to note this also because in none of the nationality areas is language education completely free of problems. One of the reasons for this can be found in the fact that even the parents themselves speak their language less and less frequently--perhaps only in the dialect of the grandparents--and the concepts of the literary language are often missing from their vocabulary. It also causes problems that from year to year the children arrive at school with less knowledge which causes more problems to the educators. That is, the present teaching plans and textbooks are built on a level of language knowledge which can hardly be expected of the students because they do not possess the rich vocabulary.

As the representative of Baranya county said in the debate of the working commission on education: even though at the time they go to school the level of understanding of the children can be said to be good, yet their speaking ability is less satisfactory. We read in the study's summary that this problem could be solved by a kindergarten where activity is conducted in the national minority language. But the lack of kindergarten teachers hurts these institutions not only in general terms but also especially the national minority kindergartens. We heard of an interesting initiative from Baranya megye: where there is no national minority kindergarten or a kindergarten teacher who speaks that language of their nationality. That much is certain, however, that the solution should be sought not in community work but in training appropriate kindergarten teachers.

In connection with national minority language education the report defined many useful suggestions. They request: the Ministry of Education should review the teaching plans and textbooks from the viewpoint of whether they are built upon adequate language knowledge. For the parents the study recommends organizing language courses and club activities where those interested could also become more familiar with the literary language. It is a justified desire of the parents that the vacation exchange and reading camp opportunities be expanded because even in the past all nationalities derived great benefits from these.

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We found an interesting item in processing the experience. We know that in some areas drawing district lines is the source of significant problems. But the residents of national minority areas are happy with this solution because dis-  
tricting and together with this the better equipped larger school operating under more favorable conditions advantageously affects language education. Which indicates that the majority of parents do take advantage of their rights specified in the constitution and drive good benefits from them in their own and their children's interest.

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-MANAGEMENT, ADMINISTRATION EVALUATED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 9, Sep 83 pp 28-39

[Article by Kazimierz Doktor: "Workers' Self-Management, Plant Administration and Economic Reform"]

[Text] The considerations presented here about the relationship between workers' self-management and economic administration are intended to demonstrate several selected points pertaining to the political aspects of the economic system being reformed, and to the democratization of management through workers' self-management, the functioning of self-management officials in economic organizations, and the relations between self-management activists and administrators in the plant boards.

It appears to be extremely important to focus on the political side of the problem if we consider the ideological disputes which exist around the concept of a workers' self-management and the close connections between the exercise of political authority and economic management, or the connections between the political authorities and the management cadre, and party, union and self-management activists in enterprises. These political aspects--types of control, the functions of the party in the economy, the reduction of centralism--are the basic conditions for politically rational workers' self-management. However, the self-dependence of enterprises, the incentive for self-management activity, and the proper relationships between administration officials (management and management cadre) and officials of the workers' self-management, are, to some extent, the consequences of these fulfilled conditions.

These considerations do not restrict the problems of self-management to the old dilemma: whether to manage or to participate jointly within the framework of the enterprise, but they point out the difficult problems of the plant relations between administration officials and self-management officials as being an exceptionally important element of political work.

The political problems of workers' self-management, which intensified so severely in the autumn of 1981, have their roots in the recent past.

The first and very important problem was the consideration given in the autumn of 1956 to the need and political advisability of appointing people's councils.



Let us recall that they arose spontaneously as a few, and probably initially unwanted, institutions representing the interests of the workforces, and because of them both the party and the then-existing trade unions had to re-evaluate their positions in the plant. This ended with the appointment of people's councils in production, construction and agricultural enterprises, and the ultimate form of this self-management was the conference of the workers' self-management which united the administrative and political officialdom which co-managed the enterprise.

A second, equally important problem, was that of making a choice, at the turn of 1980-1981, of the alternative: Is the workers' self-management to be a body of autonomous authority, or a body of joint participation in management? As we know, the very radical version of self-management, promoted by the former ideologues of "Solidarity", among others, envisaged the possibility of a take-over of plant authority by representatives of the community and the subordination of enterprise managers to the workers' self-management. However, the concept of self-management advanced at that time by members of the Committee on Economic Reform was based on acknowledging the need for workers' self-management as a body which would co-manage a state enterprise by performing many functions. It was this concept, which was developed at the PZPR Central Committee's Third Plenum, that became the basis for the Sejm's law on workers' self-management by state-enterprise workforces, which, together with the law on an enterprise, determines the legal bases for the enterprise's self-dependence and the workforces' self-management.

#### Conditions for Implementation of Economic Reform and Self-Management

In following the economic history of state industry in its postwar form, it is not difficult to ascertain that rapid economic growth was accompanied by many attempts to improve the system by which the economy functioned, and particularly the systems of planning and managing industry. Proposals for changes or for important reforms, as, for example, during 1956 to 1958, were welcomed with praise; they were converted into rightful resolutions by the appropriate units of political authority and administrative management. Many of these reformation proposals returned after a lapse of many years; the conduct of some central political decisionmakers did not allow any of these reforms to be brought to a final conclusion, and contributed greatly to delaying any discussion about the reasonableness of reform, because, after all, it was hard to announce that reform had been effective when the process of applying reforms had not been concluded.

Centralism was a very important foe of all reforms--objectively, as an expression of the concentration of industrial means of production, and subjectively, as an expression of the position of the political authorities in relation to managing, and making economic decisions from one, central place. The tendency to carry out economic reforms stemming from the halting of growth was strong, but it ended with the first obstacles which resulted from extensive development, which the politicians wanted to jump over or ignore by various financial and legal maneuvers. This did not help much. And so, even in 1958, the return to conservatism in economics was obvious when centralization of the management system occurred anew and a conference of workers' self-management was introduced in the place of people's councils. It was the same during the middle of

reform of the large economic organizations, which was stopped after 1975 because of obvious errors in social forecasting (too optimistic), economic planning (too unrealistic), and in management of the entire economy (too much subject to the dictates of central policy).

If permanent reforms to the economic system were impeded by a stubborn return of centralism, then it is no wonder that under such political and economic conditions there was not much chance that self-dependence of enterprises and self-management of workforces would develop. It is true that in 1956 many people's councils were formed, but their epilogue in 1978 was pitiable and even the law did not help in giving the workforce a share in management. It is true that social management was developed simultaneously with administrative management, but operative management by factory committees and mobilization for production by plant councils of the old trade unions--when the importance of the conference of workers' self-management declined--did not constitute either a coherent or an effective system of plant management. It was not surprising that the August 1981 strikes ended with a negation of this system and a demand that independent trade unions be organized. This was an initially incredible upheaval in relations of the authorities in an enterprise--relations which, as it now turns out, must be accompanied by appropriate changes in the top management of the economy and the state.

As a logical and relevant rejection of self-management, centralism many times won out in the struggle for the independent position of the activists of the peoples' councils and the functions that they performed. If the idea of making an enterprise economically self-dependent was abandoned, then a political act of blocking workforce self-management was also accomplished, because without legal and economic opportunity for enterprise, there can be no political opportunity for workforce self-management. Naturally, this is a process which has just begun, but the birth of a political culture of economic democracy cannot be begun from a zero point very frequently.

This is a very difficult process, if only because there is not too much convincing proof that industrial democracy in highly developed countries is successful. Actually, only Yugoslavia and Poland regard plant workers' self-management with extreme importance, while the remaining countries approach the implementation of the political ideals of democracy in an economy with greater caution. It is no wonder, therefore, that as a result of the sharp political debate in the spring of 1981, when disputes about the position and functions of workforce self-management in a state enterprise became lively, a more realistic concept won out, one which envisaged the necessity of an institutional guarantee for the representation of a workforce and its officials (mass assembly, assemblies of representatives, workers' councils) in joint management of an enterprise. This is the direction that ensued from the assumptions of bold economic reform prepared by the government's and party's commission on economic reform. Of course, this realism did not satisfy the impassioned ideologues who represented the extreme viewpoints on democracy. It is they who during the second phase of martial law, when the workers' self-managements could have been restored, turned away completely from this institution, believing that it would not fulfill their expectations and their political vision. This has a certain significance in the rebuilding of self-management; perhaps negative, because many young advocates of democracy, for lack of political education and life's experience, are demanding a great deal, not realizing the many necessary preconditions.

Many conditions must be fulfilled to achieve the primary goals of efficient management, but three of them appear to be the main ones: the party's leadership role, enterprise self-dependence, and workforce self-management. They are of decisive importance.

#### Types of Control and Economic Reform

Economic reforms in the past were always compelled by at least two main factors: a halt in economic growth, as shown by a decline in real population income, and weakness in the political management of the economy by the party. Loss of the ability to control the economy by the supreme organs of political authority and the central organs of economic administration led to a critical examination of preceding systems of management and to the preparation of the next drafts for reform, very often begun with replacement of the ruling team or a change in the administrators and political management of plants.

The social and economic crisis has lasted for many months, as have the long disputes concerning the directions that economic reform is supposed to take. Because we want the work of reform to be substantial, and its fruits to be lasting--in accordance with the growing, but so tragically disappointed aspirations of the Poles--we, too, are examining the mechanisms of the political system, or the mechanisms of the exercise of authority. That is why it is worthwhile to call attention to the thesis on the necessity to maintain two types of control in the economic system: economic and political, both of which the party, as the main force in socialist construction, exercises. This is indispensable, especially when depoliticization of economic management is the dream of the opposition, which would like to remove the party from economic matters, deprive the workplaces of the work of party organizations, eliminate the party "nomenklatura" [list of positions that can be filled only with the approval of the party organization], or permanently reject the party congress' selection of strategic goals for economic development. In this way, the opposition could first weaken these institutions through which the party exercises its political control in the economic system, and then bring in their own activists into previously attacked positions in the government, local administration, and in the state-enterprise board, all under the guise, of course, of socialization.

Forms by which the party's leading role could be politically secured should be the subject of discussion not because of the desire to design another model of a political system, but because of the necessity to adapt this control to the present stage of the development of productive forces, which caused the downfall of the central systems of management and the out-of-datedness of the extremes of the orders-distribution system (partially effective during the period of forced industrialization in the 1950's). Examples of political control of the party in the economy would include: questions of more efficient relations between political authorities and officials of the economic administration as executory organs in political strategy in the economic system; they are a problem only because the legal bases for the functioning of the authorities and the central and local administration have not yet been finalized, the principles of the functioning of party echelons operating in the economic system have not been made sufficiently clear, and the role of plant party organizations in the enterprise has not been finally defined. Such expectations

are expressed by the plant aktiv, but at the same time it must be said that involvement in politics is not just the establishment of standards but the performance of one's political duties. Quite naturally, this is changeable and the position of the plant party organization can be legally regulated only with great difficulty. There can be talk about the need to have a uniform approach to political leadership, both in the party as well as in the economic administration, but this should not lead to a disappearance of differences in position and function in the political and economic system, and especially to the identification of political leadership with economic leadership.

I realize that the mutual relationship between the party and the central economic administration during the process of economic reform is a thorny subject right now, but on the other hand, it must be brought up, if only for the reasons that reducing economic reform to a package of Sejm laws, new economic and financial mechanisms, or, for example, the famous three "S's" [self-dependence, self-management, self-financing], is a kind of simplification, because economic reform--as serious as ours is--has its own clearly political aspects. Every attempt to change the management and planning system had its political significance. And so we cannot turn our backs on what is nothing else but the practicing of politics in the economic systems, if only because in the opinion of many observers the party is responsible for almost everything that happens in the economy, not only for the successes but also for the disasters. Thus if the crisis transformed itself into an economic disaster of such dimensions, then in view of this responsibility we must also seek a constructive solution to its political aspects. The functioning of a system of central control of the entire economy, including the place of the party and state authorities, is just such a political problem.

The problem of political control in the economic sphere must be investigated on different levels, i.e., over the entire economic system, in the ministerial, subsector and territorial structures, and of course in the plant structures. Some rather basic differences appear in the institutional solutions of the party's political control in our economy. What is most important here is that political control in our entire economic system should be confined primarily to the tasks of the highest party authorities, i.e., to the congress--where determination of the strategy of the country's socioeconomic development is concerned, the delineation of far-reaching, long-range forecasts, programs and plans in the area of economic policy. In my opinion, from this standpoint the party should conduct itself as behooves a political party, i.e., establish overall policy, and not take a direct part in the management of the entire economy or individual ministries and plants. Of course, then the function and position of the economic administration would derive from the party's political function as an organizational unit in crucial economic decisions.

The comment must be made here that thus far the boards of the functional-staff ministries have not been reformed. If central management is not completely reformed, everything that in the 1950's was called "central economic management", then obviously reform will not be successful. The old slogan that the party leads and the government rules is too vague to repeat, and in any case, it belongs to an era which began with successes and ended with economic crisis, and therefore, if only for propaganda reasons it should not be repeated today.

Nevertheless, in my opinion this is a convenient starting point in the discussion. It is possible to divide the functions which the state authorities, i.e., the Sejm and the government, and the political authorities, i.e., the party, and particularly its congress, perform in relation to the economic system. The supremacy of politicians over administrators is undoubtedly unshakable within the party, but how this is to appear in practice is an open matter, if only because there is no clear division of functions, powers and responsibilities in the Polish economic system up to the present time. Hence it may be that some elements in this system are not very willing to comply with various reform decisions which would precisely define their place in the ranks, to use a military expression.

### The Party's Political Functions in the Economy

During the period just passed the political management of the economy by the united party-state authorities consisted mainly of monopolizing the fundamental decisions on the economy in such a way that the party took upon itself all three types of decisions made: strategic, tactical and operational. In the local echelons these functions sometimes consisted of acting as substitutes for the economic administrators in operational management. This was the beginning of a serious pathology in the system of authority and the system to management. The concept, then being implemented, of parallel management, which consisted of multiple management of the same economic matters by party and administration officials, trade unions, and self-managements, also became part of this. This produced a great deal of economic harm, damaged the party politically, and brought about the 1980 crisis.

It would appear, therefore, that the party now should discontinue the current exercise of economic functions (its involvement in production) and assume political functions in the economic system. It is really the political functions of the party apparatus and its primary organizations which should be proof that the chances for political control in the economy and in society are properly understood. This variant envisages that it is absolutely essential to stop issuing orders in the economy, particularly by the party's professional apparatus. Anyway, the small party apparatus is not able to keep up with the state's huge economic apparatus and its numerous cadre. Therefore, the party apparatus should do nothing which does not belong to it within the social division of labor.

Political functions in the economy should consist primarily of programming and and planning, and control functions. The party, after outlining bold programs of socioeconomic development, which form the bases for further long-term plans, should at that very point end its programming and planning function, since it is here that operational management begins. In the division of labor it belongs to the leadership cadre, the many specialists and administrators. This is a difficult division of labor, if only because we overrate the planning function in our economy, and the same enchantment with programs and plans often leads to neglect of more than one task which must be executed.

An even more important problem is that of the political functions of the party in control over the state economic apparatus. Lenin exposed this very clearly

when he struggled with the bureaucratism of a young state apparatus and propagated a system of councils and control functions by trade unions. Political control over implementation of one's own and others' decisions in this central economic administration means more than even the most correct resolutions and postulates which have not been put into effect. It is true that party control makes the managers of the economy uncomfortable, but the party cannot put its concern about satisfying them above that of seriously treating the entire economic system at all levels, from the central to the primary.

In accordance with the principles of economic reform and with the new strategy of party activity, it should be said now that the party, without retreating from the economy, ceases to fulfill economic functions in this economy and begins to perform its political functions. This means that one particular function in the management system, namely the operational management of capital and human resources, must be discontinued, and attention should be focused on the execution of the two most important functions: programming, which, by the way, we have mastered to perfection in the party (so well that we are programming too much), and control, which we have not learned well enough.

I believe that we can refer to Lenin's thinking--in the early days of Soviet authority he dreamed that the political apparatus of the party and the trade unions would watch the bureaucrats. This is a very unpleasant and thankless function both for the watched as well as for the watchers, but if the party does not learn to control itself and its members in key management positions then all of the programs will remain only programs, and there will not be very many effective results which the economy and society are awaiting.

Many politicians, those in our party also, continue to believe themselves to be revolutionaries, for whom the law can only interfere in the implementation of their own visions of dynamic development. But it seems that these times have changed, economics and politics are too important to treat them as simply a game. A strong economic law is needed to apply reform and it is within those legally designated limits that political functions should be performed.

That is why we should declare ourselves in favor of not only a just law guaranteeing the enterprises self-dependence and the trade unions self-management, but also in favor of a law which would restrict the voluntarism of decision by the political authorities and economic administration at the central level. That is precisely why the party should demand of its lawyers that they furnish judicious draft laws standardizing not only the position, power, functions and responsibility of the Council of Ministers, but also the other officials of the central economic administration. The party elements--the authority in the form of a congress, as well as the primary organizations along with their superior echelons--must support lawful improvements in the position and functions of the central administration, for the good of the politicians themselves. The party should be interested in designating the legal framework of activity for all organs of the state economic administration, and not just for an enterprise or an obligatory and voluntary association.

## Self-Dependence of an Enterprise as a Condition of Self-Management

Self-management cannot be obtained without fulfilling what very likely is the most difficult economic condition--the achieving of self-dependency by an enterprise. I say achieving, not granting, because documents of grant can be withdrawn. The granting of self-dependence could become the trojan horse of centralism, which everyone now is abandoning and which always returns very easily to an economy so difficult to reform.

It should be noted that a condemnation of centralism neither serves to change pro-centralist attitudes, nor does it create a new, decentralized system of economic management. This occurs due to the habit of always looking to the top. Even today, when the drafters of a new economic system are promising that they will reduce the fortresses of centralism to rubble and actually, for the first time, have begun economic reform with the reconstruction of the system of ministerial management, the executing organizations are still waiting for a directive. It really has been issued, but the response has not been great. Only a few economic organizations have undertaken the task of surmounting the crisis by their own strength, limited resources, and timid attempts to "achieve self-dependence".

The self-dependence of industrial, construction, agricultural and trade enterprises is not only the function of the system of political authority and the model of management accepted (directive or parametric), but it is also the function of the ability of the enterprise to use production factors in such a way as to preserve initiative and increase economic results. As we know, past economic experience has developed an incoherent legal and economic-financial system, and a passive attitude on the part of the management cadre, which was conducive to extensive economic growth. The factor which was most frequently used to increase production was the size of employment. We can say, with great simplification, that both levels of management, the central headquarters which administered the economy and the boards of the executive organizations, adapted themselves to the "employment limits" in the same degree and learned to effectively manipulate the directive indexes so as to achieve the expected growth in employment.

Today, if an enterprise cannot free itself of centralism and achieve self-dependence, the workforce has no chance at self-management. Self-dependence is the initial condition in the concern for the economically and politically difficult task of building plant democracy and enterprise workforce self-management.

Here it should be noted that the enterprises, which constantly criticize the unloved centralism and the excessive administration by former economic ministries and recently numerous associations, are not free of what can be called "centralism from the bottom", which consists of habits in management based on orders from central officials. In other words, some of the management cadre, while complaining about centralism, are actually by their behavior strengthening this system, because they really do not know how to manage on their own. They avoid making their own decisions, do not take risks, and are waiting for guidelines, orders and bans. This internal source inherent in the former

centralism continues to impede the application of economic reform in the enterprises. If this is accompanied by a continued willingness on the part of the enterprises to be centrally managed and supervised by enlarged industrial ministries, then we can imagine the size of the problems in applying the principles and tasks of economic reform. It may also be said that the one-sidedness of the criticism of central methods of steering and managing the economy should not cover up the proliferation of this method in the entire former system of planning and management.

#### The Joint-Management System and the Administrators

The key political problem in the managing director's conduct is, above all, his continuous relationship to the leadership party. A high ratio of party membership in the top management cadre of the enterprises and other economic organizations facilitates, but does not specifically determine, the mutual relations between the managing director and the party secretary, the directorate and the executive board, or between the management group and a plant committee plenum. This arrangement has been functioning for a long time and attempts to disturb it have not been successful even during the period of the greatest attacks made by the opposition forces on the party's leadership role. However, it now appears that the new principles of management and the new expectations of the workforces also require changes in relations between political organizations and the administration officialdom--which is the single-individual, managing director of the enterprise.

It is true that results are achieved through peaceable cooperation, but new conditions have arisen which depend principally on assigning administrative and political functions in such a way as to make cooperation possible, and responsibility unequivocally defined. In other words, plant party organization echelons continue to perform political functions in the enterprise, but they should do this, it seems, more indirectly, avoiding the old practices of issuing orders. The managing directors, in turn, must show more self-dependence and an inclination to take the opinions of the workforce into consideration. This is the old problem of knowing how to reconcile the interests of the enterprise with those of the workforce, which is not easy. But one thing is certain: a managing director who stands apart from the workforce, who takes the position of a captain on the bridge, above the workforce, not only will fail to gain respect and confidence but will also lose the opportunity to manage skilfully. Many strike demands pertained specifically to this kind of arrogance on the part of plant authorities, an autocracy, a bad work climate caused by the failure of the directors, managers, and foremen to know how to manage. The managing directors' political stance, therefore, should reflect a respect for the workforce and its representatives, including the party, trade unions, and workers' self-management.

If the workers' self-management is to be politically effective, the role of the directors should be to assure the enterprise's economic self-dependence, since management through superior officials can only be a sham self-management. Connecting self-financing with self-management is financially risky, but at the same time it is stimulating for those who have faith in their own strength, their group resourcefulness, and ability to divide that which they produce.



Therefore, the position taken by some managing directors during the period of martial law making it difficult to reinstate self-managements seemed to be strange, and now, in many enterprises, the process of building, restoring, or changing forms of self-management is also disturbing in view of its slowness and fear of unspecified consequences. It may be supposed that during this difficult period not only the principle of single-individual management and responsibility was restored, but also, because of the difficult situation, attitudes were demonstrated that were not in conformance with the policy of the party, which emphasizes democratism in an enterprise and recognizes the officials of the workers' self-management to be a representative of the workforce and an ally.

In the future, the enterprise's efficiency and the personal success of the managing director will be dependent on the skill with which they establish relationships with another element of the enterprise's political system, and these are the trade unions. Regardless of what form the future union movement takes, they will not lose much of their value as an institution which defends workers' interests and that is why all, even the most bitter lessons of history stemming from the activities of the old and new trade unions must be taken into account by the present management cadre. These relations must be based on durable and solid bases in the form of a law on trade unions and long-term collective agreements, ensuing from an honest calculation of real living costs and, therefore, real wages, and the possibility of dividing the profits that have been achieved.

The consolidation of the importance of the central authorities in the area of economic control during martial law was not conducive to the democratization which the party, in the form of workforce self-management, is a champion. This led to postponement of the matter of workforce self-management on the so-called middle decisionmaking levels, contrary to the party's desire and intent, to "better" days.

Let us note in what context the economic administrators grant themselves the right to make pronouncements on political issues. Denying the workforce participation in direct or indirect management, or impeding this participation, is also an example of a political conservatism, revealed under various difficulties, and particularly economic ones, by part of the economic management cadre. This applies also to party members. A bureaucratic torpor among some of the management cadre in the central organs of economic administration supports this kind of thinking.

The position that self-management is being instituted "prematurely" is not logical. Even that part of the economic cadre which has no confidence in workforce self-management was and is for decentralization, and thus for management democracy. But their democracy does not end at the point at which they themselves take over the powers of their past superiors (most often the associations). On the other hand, they very unwillingly transfer their powers to their subordinates, on a similar basis.

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So far we have briefly discussed three difficult political problems: the party's control and political functions in the economic system, self-dependence in reformed state enterprises, and their self-management and the relationship of the administrators of the economy to the officials of the workers' self-management. These are very difficult problems and that is why, in conclusion, some theses are worth repeating.

After many difficult months, almost years, of ferment by the socialist-awareness opposition it can be said that in the PZPR we know that in modern states, based on a state economy, the governing party is the ruling party not only in politics but also in economy. Therefore, there is no doubt, at least for party members, that economic control is secured by fulfilling the leading and leadership role. The question that is open is the method by which this role is fulfilled, not only in the state but also in the economy. At this point a proposal was discussed which suggests that in place of the former, effective joint management by party echelons, attention be given to the more strategic decisions on economic policy made by party authorities, and that in performing planned and control functions, economic policy and effectiveness should be improved. This will be the primary task in the economic system after recovery from the economic crisis. Thus the party, in ceasing to issue orders to the enterprises and economic ministries, will continue to fulfill its political functions but in another, more efficient way, both on the central level and in those economic organizations in which the primary plant organizations have a great deal to do.

The external requirements for the party's new functions in the economic system are being created by the tasks, accomplished with resistance, of the economic reform being applied. Combining the promised economic self-dependence of enterprises with the possibilities of plant workforce self-management, and maintaining political leadership by the party, constitutes an important factor. The opponents of this arrangement are of the opinion that the party is unnecessary in this arrangement, and in the extreme version it is actually an obstacle to real self-management. And so it is well once more to emphasize that the socialist system of our democracy can be neither rational nor efficient without the political unit which the leadership party is.

Of course, the economic reform begun, which has been going on for only 8 months, has not yet solved these difficult problems, since changing over the central and plant economic administration to a recognition of workers' self-management as their partner is difficult, and freeing oneself from centralism and the extremes connected with it is not an easy process, even in those enterprises which are not critically disposed towards it.

In conclusion, the necessity of accelerating the application of the famous three "S's" by the management cadre should be mentioned, especially self-management, since there is much evidence that the Sejm law on enterprises and self-management is being implemented with considerable resistance, making it difficult to recover from the crisis and to restore the party's political functions through the entire economic system.

RELEASE OF KUBIAK REPORT ANNOUNCED, DESCRIBED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 45, 5 Nov 83 p 6

[Article by (m): "The Party's Attitude Towards Its Errors"]

[Text] "The attitude of a political party to its own errors is one of the most important and surest tests of the party's authority and the actual performance of its duties in behalf of its class and the working masses."

This thought expressed by Vladimir Lenin looms as a motto for the publication of the so-called "Kubiak Report", named after the chairman of the commission appointed to explain the causes of the social disputes which have been taking place in People's Poland.

Let us recall that the commission was appointed by the Ninth PZPR Congress. It made use of the work of experts: historians, political scientists, sociologists, economists, and most of all, workers' activists. Sixty-nine professional reports were prepared for the commission. The reports written at the instructions of the commission total thousands of typewritten pages, therefore the concise report printed in a special edition of NOWE DROGI is obviously just a synthesis.

The "report" is composed of three parts. The first part, the introduction, deals with the assumptions on the commission's work and the circumstances under which the Ninth Congress assigned its task. It also dealt with what has happened up to the time that the report was published. This is important, because during the two years that the commission had been working, many of the Congress' demands have been fulfilled and others are in the process of being fulfilled. Therefore, the "report" lists the various actions taken by the state and party leadership in the economic field--the initiation of reform, and regulation of wages and retirements; in the social sphere--the protection provided to families with the lowest incomes and insurance for private farmers; in the legal sphere--establishment of a Constitutional Tribunal and a State Tribunal; in the political sphere--cooperation with the allied parties and appointment of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], and changes in the PZPR itself; and finally, as pertains to cadre.

The report emphasizes that the "scope of adjustments and changes in the party and state resulting from Ninth Congress resolutions and expressing the line of socialist renewal, as discussed in the report, does not mean that substantial progress has already been achieved in every one of these areas. Nevertheless, the decisions that were made and the consequences of applying these decisions have begun a process of historical importance and have made it possible for this process to be continued. The conclusions which the party is drawing from the crises should reinforce the feeling that it is absolutely essential to stay on this course.

"The commission takes the position that a consistent and uncompromising search for the truth, and an honest presentation of this truth, is essential if constructive conclusions are to be drawn from past experience and if there is to be a guarantee that the afflictions which cause crises in the party and the socialist state are never repeated."

The second part of the report describes the conflicts and the social crises in the history of People's Poland. But before we discuss this part of the report we would like to call attention to a very important, from the scientific-methodology standpoint, discussion therein on the concepts "social conflict" and social crisis" themselves.

"A high accumulation of controversies, as a rule, produces social conflict. But not all conflicts must bring about destructive processes. We know, as a matter of fact, that controversies are a driving force in the historical process. But in situations where conflicts accumulate and they are not settled properly and on time, they become a social crisis. Such a crisis is usually typified by a violent outburst of dissatisfaction, a disruption of the continuity of development, or at the least a disturbance in the mechanisms of the regulation and control of political, social and economic life.

"A 'social crisis', therefore, is a process of pathological changes in the substance and form of collective life, which may pertain to society as a whole or to the specific areas of its existence. Thus, every social crisis is also a social conflict, whereas not every conflict, or even every group of conflicts, is a crisis."

The second section is a peculiar crib on the Polish People's Republic's history. Peculiar, because it describes in detail the crises of 1956, 1970 and 1980, however it casts these dates against the broad background of the most recent history of Poland. The authors of the report realize that this produces a somewhat distorted picture of Poland's history and call the reader's attention to it.

"It was the commission's task to investigate the sources, the course, and the consequences of the crises, and therefore it was natural that the concentration should be on the negative aspects. But the truth of the history of Poland and the party is that although sometimes highly unfavorable aspects occurred, which caused the achievements of socialism to be lesser than could have been, generally speaking a historical breakthrough occurred in our country and a historical progress, and the development occurred on a line leading in the direction of socialism."

As already mentioned, the historical "turns" are described in detail. It seems that the reader will find most of the new facts to be on the subject of the December 1970 crisis (he will also find statements on the March 1968 events which differ from those usually used thus far in the propaganda publications).

The reader of the report will probably feel a need to dig further into matters which the report does not talk about. For example, as pertains to October 1956, it is important to know why economic reform was not successful at that time, and whose fault was it and under what circumstances did the highly promising workers' self-management movement fail. These are not examples of questions for researchers alone. An understanding of them, an understanding of circumstances which prevailed at that time, lessons from those events, may be a great importance in solving our current problems.

It also seems that comparative history should continue the themes contained in the report. The citizens of the Polish People's Republic, and especially the members of the PZPR, should know why our neighbors, who have the same socio-economic system, were more successful in the field of economy than we were.

The third section of the report, and probably the most important, deals with conclusions on the causes of the crises and their prevention.

The authors of the report present the PZPR Ninth Congress resolution as a program for overcoming the present crisis and preventing crises in the future, and point to the experience of the historical process of the Polish People's Republic. Here are certain generalizations:

"The danger of the appearance of a social crisis becomes a reality not automatically, but only when violations of Marxist-Leninist principles of socialism and deviations from the accepted, by society and especially by the working class, goals of socialist building occur so clearly that in the consciousness of society urgent strivings for change are formed. In addition to objective and subjective factors, indirect causes must appear which fulfill the role of the proverbial sparks. These, as a rule, were the badly prepared decisions on prices and wages, under conditions of low public awareness of the laws and mechanisms of the economy."

In order for a social conflict not to become a crisis, in order for social dissatisfaction not to transform itself into an explosion, a sensing-control apparatus is needed, one which stems from a correct democratic mechanism. And "as a result the paralysis of the functioning of a socialist democracy not only deprives the party, the state officials which manage the building of socialism, of a kind of protective-signal system against social dissatisfaction, but it also causes a gap to open up between the anticipations and aspirations of the developing society and reality."

The report lists the basic objective factors which formed the background for Polish social crises after 1945:

"--The historical legacy, i.e., the objective civilizing and material conditions and the traits of human mentality and behavior which were inherited from the past;

--the demographic-development trends, changes in social and generational structure, and social needs, viewpoints and behaviors which result from them;

--the ideological, political and economic divisions and conflicts of today's world;

--the necessity for a fundamental increase in the share of the awareness and knowledge factor and the democracy factor in the shaping of processes of socialist building."

Factors which also minimized the importance of signals indicating the formation of a social crisis (particularly the last one):

"--The establishment, and use in public activity, of an unrealistic view of the working class, society, and its moods;

--the conviction that it was possible to manage exclusively through centrally issued orders and directives;

--inadequate theoretical preparation of goals and methods for building socialism and failure to make them specific to universal principles in relation to conditions existing in Poland;

--insufficient use of results of scientific studies and opinions, and particularly failure to include information which would permit identification of the dangers of the crises and accomplishment of prior revisions in politics and economics;

--incorrect or incomplete evaluation of conflicts which foretold a more threatening crisis situation (1968, 1976)."

The report calls particular attention to the harmful effects of voluntarism in the economy. This was particularly apparent in the 1970's in the uncontrolled investment program, the failure to recognize the role of agriculture, and also in the vacillation in relation to the crafts. Bordering on voluntarism was the practice of yielding to the "terror of claims" [the claim of priority for large investments to the detriment of agriculture and crafts], which resulted in a erosion of public economic awareness.

Next an important passage dealing with the political causes of the crises.

"The political causes of the crises are connected with the contradictions, which increased during some periods, between the state of socialist democracy and the functioning of its mechanisms and institutions and the level of expectations of the social workers' class and other groups of working people. The conviction became ingrained in the social awareness that outside of the immediate postcrises periods, when an actual development of socialist democracy took place the authorities impeded its progress."

The report--without using this term--stands in opposition to the theses on the unreformability of socialism. It perceives the causes of the crises to be the departures from the principles of marxism.

"The causes of the social crises in People's Poland were not the principles of the socialist system, but actually the deviations, inadequacies and errors in the method of implementing its principles in the specific arrangement of class forces, and in particular, the errors in the way authority was exercised. Every indication of the accumulation of unresolved contradictions, strains and social conflicts brought with it a growth in the activeness of the forces inimical to socialism, aimed at intensifying these forces.

To prevent the crises from occurring, the universal qualities of socialism must be observed, and also that Leninist principle which demands that they be implemented in accordance with the specific conditions of each country entering upon the path of socialist building. These universal qualities, in addition to the requirement that the main means of production be socialized and that its development be planned and that the principles of internationalism be applied in ideology and politics, include democracy--with the working class holding a leading position in this democracy and that its party hold the leadership role in the socialist state.

The reversal of errors in the method of governing and the distortions in the principles of the party's internal activities cannot conceal the fact that the party in every one of the crises periods showed political and moral integrity. In turning to its class origins and the ideological principles of socialism, it disclosed the evil and its causes, it formulated a program of correction, it made cadre changes, it conducted a re-education program and cleansed its ranks. After each crisis, many conclusions and experiences became part of the permanent reserve of the principles and methods of party and state activity."

9295

CSO: 2600/216

SAWP B-H VIEWS MEDIA ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, NATIONALIST INCIDENT

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by S. Novakovic-Rakocevic: "Difficulties Which Have Not Bypassed the Newspapermen"]

[Text] The B-H Republic Conference of the SAWP has been roaring with activities in preparation for one of the coming meetings of the conference, which after almost a decade will concern itself quite seriously with information matters. Yesterday's meeting of the presidium, which mostly concerned the economic position of Radio-TV Sarajevo and the "Oslobodjenje" NISRO [Newspaper Publishing and Printing Work Organization], with a special look at the financial position of newsmen and trained personnel, was a part of that activity.

High Indebtedness

The difficulties which have accompanied the conduct of economic activity in the country have not bypassed work organizations in the field of information, especially those who have undertaken extensive investment projects and have taken sizable amounts of credit. At this point the news media in our republic have grown in their financial condition, their personnel and their standards of quality to become a system without which our self-management and our commitment to socialism would be unthinkable. Society has made a selfless contribution and has invested very large resources to create the material and technical base of the news system. Never as in recent years has there been so much talk, discussion and decisionmaking about newsgathering. It is in that context that "Oslobodjenje" NISRO and Radio-TV Sarajevo have come of age, they have come of age while at the same time developing their technical and technological adequacy. This kind of development had to be burdened with numerous difficulties, and therefore the present financial situation is characterized by high indebtedness, more difficult conditions for the conduct of economic activity, restrictions on imports of production supplies and imported parts, and the difficulty of purchasing newsprint, whose price rose 63 percent in the first 6 months of this year.

"This kind of situation in the two work organizations has seriously threatened the financial position of newsmen, program personnel and other professional personnel employed in these organizations. Their average personal incomes are lagging behind the growth of average personal incomes in the economy



of SR [Socialist Republic] Bosnia-Hercegovina and also behind the rise of personal incomes in their respective industries. The housing situation is also very difficult, and the satisfaction of other aspects of the personal and social standard of living is also lagging behind. For all these reasons the most necessary personnel are leaving for other organizations where they can solve their problems more quickly. The way out of this situation has to be sought mainly in improving the overall economic position of these firms, above all through a still more resolute effort and activity on the part of the working people of the 'Oslobodjenje' NISRO and Radio-TV Sarajevo, who will seek a way out of the situation mainly in relying on their own resources," Ibro Hadzic emphasized in his introductory address.

Muhamed Abadzic also spoke about the results achieved by the working people of the "Oslobodjenje" NISRO, which over the last 3 years has increased its circulation by 40 percent and its printing services by 30 percent.... This is the result of a commitment by the working people and of up-to-date technology, which has already proven that it was necessary and beneficial to invest resources of such great size. In just the first 9 months of this year the circulation of publications of "Oslobodjenje" has increased 27 percent, the first experience has been gained in collaboration with the foreign market, but in spite of all the specific achievements, it turns out that the utilization of capacity could be even better, that unused internal potential is rather extensive, but that the aid of the broader social community is indispensable.

In adopting positions and measures to improve the economic position of Radio-TV Sarajevo and the "Oslobodjenje" NISRO and the material position of newsmen and other specialists, the presidium assigned the Council for Newsgathering the task of spelling this out in further detail and initiating realization of the tasks which have been outlined. As a part of these measures, Rade Galeb said, income-sharing relations within the news-gathering firms need to be reassessed, since note has been taken that certain OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] are behaving like separate and uninterested parts of a whole which cannot and should not be split up. We have forgotten about joint income and solidarity within the collective, Rade Galeb said.

Seid Maglajlija entered in the discussion by saying that on several occasions the executive council has taken up the position of the media. He hailed the initial results and called for a further effort to be made to develop the export of services abroad. Since credit obligations are a serious threat to the normal business operation of these firms, Seid Maglajlija said that need from the broader social community is also necessary to reschedule certain credit obligations. Preferential treatment was retained such as the rebate on newsprint and exemption from certain types of taxes, which is in part improving the position of Radio-TV Sarajevo and the "Oslobodjenje" NISRO.

#### Looking for Room for Economy

Hamdija Pozderac said that room for economy should also be sought within "Oslobodjenje," which prints a large newspaper, and within Radio-TV Sarajevo, which spends considerable resources "importing Western taste and mentality." As for solving the housing problems, there should be insistence on investment

of personal resources in construction of housing units, although society's support in this respect ought to be much greater. Sociopolitical communities should find a way within their capabilities and allocate at least one housing unit a year to the news media.

Ismet Kreso entered the discussion, saying that personal incomes in the news media often follow the line of leveling.

The presidium of the republic conference yesterday also took up a report on nationalistic and chauvinistic occurrences in the local communities of Slatina and Rajseva in Teslic Opstina. Muhamed Besic familiarized the members of the presidium with this event, emphasizing the conflict which flared up between 2 and 8 October of this year between groups of individuals of Croat and Muslim nationality in the local communities Slatina and Rajseva.

The Presidium of the B-H Republic Conference of the SAWP vigorously condemned this incident, addressing criticism to the Teslic Opstina Conference of the SAWP because of its tardy and inappropriate reaction to the events that occurred between inhabitants of these two villages in the first days of October. It also insisted that proceedings be instituted to determine the responsibility of all those structures of social self-protection which, as Veljko Droca said, cannot stand by while such events occur in front of their eyes and bear no responsibility whatsoever.

Andjelko Vasic and Savo Ceur stressed this event as a striking consequence of activity confined predominantly to forums, lack of communication, laziness and irresponsibility.

"If a few days before this nationalistic outburst of inhabitants of the village Slatina, where the population is Croat, and Rajseva, where the population is Muslim, we had by some chance made an assessment of the political security situation within Teslic Opstina," Hrvoje Istuk emphasized, "we would have given it good marks. Which raises the question of whether we always make analyses with our eyes open." Desimir Medjovic, Ismet Kreso and Bosko Baskot took part in the discussion, emphasizing that the Socialist Alliance and youth should carry out a political campaign in this area in order to expose in the true sense of the word the troublemakers who stand behind these ugly conflicts on a chauvinistic basis.

[Boxed item]

#### Appointment

The Presidium of the B-H Republic Conference of the SAWP adopted a decision to appoint Rade Budalic chief and responsible editor of TV Sarajevo. Rade Budalic was the incumbent in that position.

7045

CSO: 2800/68

STIPE SUVAR CRITICIZES REVISIONIST-HISTORIANS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8-9 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by K. Bijelic and P. V.]

[Text] In the context of the preparations and activities which the LCY Central Committee has initiated and which are to be carried out before the special meeting of the LCY Central Committee, the Center of the Croatian LC Central Committee for Work on Ideology and Theory and the Commission of the Croatian LC Central Committee for the Ideological Effort and Information organized a 2-day discussion which began today in Zagreb on the topic "The Writing of History, Memoirs, Journalism and Newspaper Feature Articles in the Light of Current Ideological Controversies." This is a national-level meeting, and a sizable number of prestigious historians and sociopolitical figures concerned with this problem are taking part in it.

The introductory remarks for discussion of this problem area, which is extremely relevant today, were delivered by Stipe Suvar, member of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee, while Fabijan Trgo, Prvoslav Ralic, Zorica Stipetic and Petar Strcic made stimulating contributions to the discussion.

History Is Not the Historian's Private Preserve

"We must at this moment be concerned," Dr Stipe Suvar said, "about the young generations being offered all sorts of things, things being stuffed into the writing of history and to allegedly new elucidations of specifically our quite recent history, into discoveries which call into question if not all, then many, even the bulk, of the conceptions of our communist movement of itself and of what it has done or failed to do as a concrete historic force on our social scene since it emerged and up to the present time. All this certainly does not have a real tie to history as a science, but all sorts of subject matter are being crammed into it and then advertised as a true history, that is, as historical truth.

"The pressure of all sorts of ideological trash is growing in the writing of history, that is, in the self-styled writing of history, in the writing of memoirs and newspaper features which in the broad social public, in the people, and especially in the ranks of young people would create the impression

and widespread conviction that up to now they have not really known the full and real truth, that hagiography has been officially substituted for historical scholarship, that the revolution should be demystified--that the time has now come for that, all the way to the conclusion either that the revolution never even took place or that it would have been better if it hadn't, since here we have now ended up in a trackless waste, and our wagon can be pulled out of the mud only by some sort of new democratic alternative, by a revival of political parties which eliminated themselves historically (and they were not removed from the historical scene by the CPY's Machiavellian and violent showdown with them, which is the interpretation given us by two authors of a recently published discussion which seems on the surface to be carefully written)! Or on the other hand initiation of a true and authentic revolution in a sense of which supposedly there has so far not been a trace in this country, just as today there are not even the crumbs of anything socialist in our actuality.

"No, there is no place in any writing of history, say, for the assertion--whose author has recently been given ample space by the most influential daily newspaper in our country for presentation of his 'epochal' ideas--that 'it might be said that historically we are now somewhere at the very beginning of carrying out what Marx called the bourgeois (political) revolution, with certain elements of socialism (as an idea),' but still it does render judgment on this more recent history of ours, which has been exceedingly dramatic and in spite of everything has been very fruitful in human terms.

"Or, on the other hand, the message emanating from one of the symposiums at which all of us are being judged more and more and with increasing frequency by a few elitist and highly established judges with clean hands, which just these past few days we were also able to read in one of our two most influential political weeklies, to the effect that 'in our country there is no socialism as yet, but the beginning of the beginnings of socialism, if not the beginning of the beginning of the beginnings of socialism.'"

#### Flagrant Falsifications

"Even a superficial and most general examination of our overall contemporary output in the writing of history, memoirs and feature journalism affords the conclusion, it seems to me, that our more recent history is not uncommonly either being reduced to what the documents attest or is being thought up and imagined.

"And this is having tangible--and at this moment very harmful--ideological and political consequences, is contributing to the confused state of mind and is giving fuel to the very widespread inclination toward hearsay, which picks away, overhauls, sullies, distorts, and even launches insinuations with overtones of Ustasha, Chetnik, Ballist, White Guard and similar resentment.

"... Some reminders that history is written by the victors and that battles are interpreted as it suits the generals who are in power. Since the victors are leaving the stage--goes the interpretation of certain rabid petit bourgeois, and indeed even here and there a former revolutionary--that is, since

the power of the victors has dug its own grave, has compromised itself, since it has become unpopular with the people, and since nothing can any longer save it, and since alternatives defeated in recent history have to be adopted, now the time has come to communicate the full historical truth, to expose the black marks and indeed even the outright cataclysms in the course of the revolution, all the way to the ultimate conclusion that one cannot even speak of a revolution, nor indeed even of a revolution that was betrayed, but of a counterrevolution which from the outset was and to this day has remained an offshoot of the Bolshevik terror, with admixtures of domestic banditry, a consistently Stalinist projection of the attainment of totalitarian power and of remaining in power, a precipitous fall into regression on the periphery of Asiatic despotism and a definitive lagging behind European democracy, culture and civilization!

"Uninvited rummagings into the recent past and ignorance and forgerous vivisections of our entire revolution or of its individual watershed periods and turning points, measures and personalities have taken on the character of obsequies, and it is certain that they have absolutely nothing whatsoever to do with the serious work of the historian. Privatistic peddlings of memoirs, newspaper features, and hearsay confessions also flourish. Certain newspapers and television studios are competing in giving time and space to individuals who, for instance, explain to the public how they were conducting the correct policy in Croatia and Zagreb serving as intelligence agents in 1941, or how someone like Rade Koncar and other great revolutionaries in the Croatian CP were under suspicion, or in order to argue at great length that the rapid downfall of the old Yugoslavia occurred mainly because of Croatian treason. One can understand in human terms how someone puts himself in the foreground, but it is dishonorable to debase revolutionaries who fell in action or to appeal to witnesses who no longer exist....

"So-called best sellers do not shy away from historical topics, nor are these the topics from remote history, but, say, from 1941 or 1948, nor do they shy away from flagrant forgeries and evasions and omissions of irrefutable facts on which authentic documents exist. The piling up of documents which others have already sorted out and published is advertised as an undertaking of a great historian, who also is supposedly the only one in this country who can write and speak freely, who is not afraid of the people in power, who supposedly could turn world public opinion against them, especially since those holders of power are cooking up plots against him and encouraging campaigns of slander.

"... Yet it seems that precisely in the last several years our historical science has achieved significant high points. Certain works of major value have appeared, many valuable monographs have been written, work is being done on certain important syntheses, the sorting and processing of valuable archive material and documentation have progressed greatly, critical publications of the writings of the leading personalities of the revolution are being prepared and are already coming out. The level and the openness of the reviews and criticism are increasingly obvious....

"No one is writing official history, and there is no official history which the forums would adopt and give their blessing to. Every creative individual or team has an opportunity to write history, that is, offer a view of a particular historical train of events, occurrences, and historical personalities. The sole condition is that his work be accepted and respected by the public--that it withstand qualified criticism with respect to the method of scholarship and the facts the test of authenticity...."

#### What Is It They Want To Revise

Much attention should be paid to the tendencies toward revision of the conception, analyses and assessments of certain key events, developments and movements of our more recent history which long ago were pronounced and adopted in the heart of our Marxist thought and in our communist movement, Suvar went on to say and added that--as far as he can see personally--in historical literature, in the teaching of history, and even in the production of "lessons of history" in the corridor, the most marked and at the same time most dangerous revisions had to do with the character of the creation of the Yugoslav bourgeois state, with the circumstances and causes of the downfall of the old Yugoslavia, with the so-called leftist deviation, with delicate moments during the National Liberation Struggle (insinuations and "discoveries" of black marks and dirty business in the National Liberation Struggle), with the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] decisions and the great battles of the National Liberation Army, with the linkage and interlacing of domestic and external factors of development and the victory of the National Liberation Struggle, and with the creation and international recognition of the new Yugoslavia, with the character and role of the political system and of Yugoslav federalism in the so-called formative period of the new social order and with the causes and consequences of the conflict with the Cominform.

"Tendencies toward revision have been especially pronounced in assessments of the role and behavior of the CPY/LCY throughout the entire period of its existence and activity," Suvar emphasized. "I would mention the thesis that the CPY was a weapon of the Comintern in weakening and shattering the old Yugoslavia, that it even carried out a mission entrusted to it in carving out and reworking the new Yugoslavia and especially in displacing and breaking up certain of our nationalities. In this sense the attitude of our communist movement on the nationality question, that is, the relation between the revolution and the nationality, is being reassessed more and more frequently in order to convey the message that the communist movement and revolution have failed the examination. According to certain very loud critics, its definitive Stalinization took place back on the eve of the war--that is, precisely when it liberated itself to be a party in the great historical sense and to lead the revolution. This is presumably best indicated by the well-known conflict on the 'literary left' and by the manner in which it was resolved, as well as by the persecutive and repressive policy toward creative thought, culture and art from that time up to the present day. The CPY committed its greatest historical crime, according to these critics, when it did away with the pluralism of political parties by force during the National Liberation Struggle and in the formative period of the new social order from the

Liberation, as well as in the consistent stifling of civil rights and human liberties, that is, by not allowing those rights to establish themselves in the only system in which they are possible, in that particular political system in which there is a pluralism of political parties and representative democracy.

"It should especially be borne in mind that the consequences of all these suspicious plottings concerning history and against its truth in the sphere of interethnic relations and the brotherhood and unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities are very harmful. That is, one gets the impression that the disputations and defenses, interpretations and revisions are more and more involving a 'sorting out' and 'delimitation' along the ethnic lines of the republics and provinces, and there are cases when entire nationalities and their historical destinies are attacked and yet such attempts are not responded to in other communities or they are placed in a framework of relativism and covered up without resolute Marxist criticism, judgment by writers of history and a clear political-ideological stand. What is lost from view here is that every one of our so-called Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian or other questions is basically a Yugoslav question and is no less 'mine' or 'ours' if it is raised as an issue of another nationality or socio-political community," Suvar stressed, concluding:

"We need maximum freedom of writing and research in the writing of history as in other fields and the organized socialist forces must both protect and encourage it, but we also need maximum public responsibility for forgeries and mystifications."

7045

CSO: 2800/50

ADDITIONAL REPORT OF ZAGREB MEETING ON LCY HISTORY

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by R. Vujatovic: "Political Manipulations Under the Cover of Scholarship"]

[Text] Following rather clear criticism of the methodological observations which certain quasi-historians have taken as their points of departure in interpreting our more recent history Fabijan Trgo spoke about historical events which are at the heart of the ideological controversy, and he went on to say:

Far From Historical Argumentation

"In the last several years there has been an eruption of literature--history, journalism, memoirs, interviews, articles in illustrated magazines, and so on--which aims at a reevaluation with undocumented theses, at a new interpretation of our more recent history as a nation, especially the period since 1918, and all the way up to the developments and processes which are current today. Inevitable differences are, of course, manifested in the writing in different genres which have the essential characteristic we have mentioned. However, the main line is quite pronounced and in some of the writings is even dominant: negation of the historical meaning of the revolution (of course, the author's intention is not essential here, but the message conveyed by what he writes). This line might be summed up this way:

"Bourgeois society between the two wars, in spite of all its defects and its contradictoriness, did have a historical future. This thesis is proven by the fact that the parliamentary system, though truncated, did basically function. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia as it was essentially represented a solution for the nationalities of Yugoslavia. It is said that the possibility existed for the further development of bourgeois democracy, which the CPY hindered and ultimately halted with its radicalism. Accordingly, the bourgeois class not only had not exhausted its historical capabilities, but would supposedly have facilitated further historical development in the future. These theses are not backed up with historical documentation, since they are refuted by historical reality, which manifested the utter helplessness of bourgeois society to weather the crisis, which was especially confirmed by the Cvetkovic-Macek agreement in 1939, the entry of the government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia into the Tripartite Pact, the role of Dr V. Macek, leader of the



Croatian Peasant Party, in creating the quisling Independent State of Croatia, and so on, and by the behavior of the leading forces of bourgeois society in the war and during the period of the occupation. Such theses are de facto meant to serve ideological purposes, and their ultimate purpose is outright political manipulation. In other words, under the cover of scholarship the protagonists of these theses discuss it in terms of the struggle of the CPY for power which was carried out successfully because of a fortunate set of circumstances furnished by World War II. The basic features of the CPY's policy and strategy between the two wars are reduced to the following by the authors of these writings:

"First, the party's orientation toward Bolshevization occurred in practice in the form of its Stalinization, since the party accepted the views and positions of Stalin on all matters. However, the protagonists of these theses concerning the Stalinist nature of the party ignore two essential historical facts: (1) that in the context of the intensified terror--it was persecuted and outlawed--the party could not have existed otherwise except on the organizational principle of the cell system, strict party discipline and the tendency toward monolithic control; (2) that the idea of shattering the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was conceived in the CPY as the shattering of the reactionary regime and that it was in the context of the future world revolution, which was supposed to guarantee life in common for all the nationalities of Yugoslavia in some formation such as a Balkan or some other community of state. In the mid-thirties the CPY itself moved to the positions of preserving Yugoslavia as a community of nationalities and ethnic minorities which had its own historical justification, and then it soon became the most consistent fighter for a Yugoslavia organized on the principles of federalism and the democratization of society. Accordingly, the position of the CPY in 1928 as concerns the Kingdom of Yugoslavia cannot cast a shadow on the dominant orientation of the party to preserve Yugoslavia as a governmental community of all its nationalities. That is, the position of the CPY on shattering the Kingdom of Yugoslavia did not go beyond the act of declaration and was never manifested in the practice and the sentiments of Yugoslav communists."

#### The Relationship Between the CPY and the Comintern

"The second thesis which this tendency sponsors is that the CPY acted through the Comintern as a blind weapon of the Soviet Government--an operative carrying out someone else's will, which is 'proven' by its support of every move in Soviet policy, and the main argument is the decision of the CPY leadership on the uprising in 1941 at Stalin's order. Facts such as these are ignored: (1) that the CPY was constantly preparing itself for revolution regardless of what the course of world events might be; (2) that the so-called Stalinized and bureaucratized party became the organizer and leader of an authentic revolution, which is an act that negates the thesis of its dogmatic and bureaucratized nature; (3) that the CPY held to its antifascist orientation and remained consistent with its assessment of enslavement by the fascist forces and their aggressive policy toward Yugoslavia in a time of very great confusion in the communist movement caused by the Stalin-Hitler Pact. Nominally taking over the assessment of the Comintern, of which it (the CPY) was a member, concerning, say, the character of the war and so on, did not signify abandonment of the antifascist orientation in a strategic sense."

"The third argument by the authors of this literature: the CPY sought an alliance with the antifascist democratic wings of the top leadership of the bourgeois party in its words, but in its practice it ultimately tried to impose itself through absolute power, although it promised that it would not introduce communism, i.e., the Soviet system, whereby it deceived its potential allies, and indeed the broader masses of people as well; the extreme view contained in this thesis speaks of a kind of Machiavellianism on the part of the party during the war and especially in the first postwar years. These theses pass over the scientifically established facts to the effect that it was the bourgeois policy which compromised itself even on the eve of the war, since it was unable to fill a single one of its promises, which in practical terms means that that policy and its protagonists were not given a pass by history to lead society, to advance social relations and to resolve the burning problems.

"The party is accused of two main sins in the first postwar period: (1) that it did not revive the multiparty system and bourgeois parliamentarianism (V. Kostunica and K. Cavoski: "Party Pluralism or Monism"), and (2) that at the end of the National Liberation Struggle it set up a social system after the Soviet model. Of course, such an abstract and nonhistorical opinion refuses to take into account such cardinal facts as Yugoslavia's international position immediately after World War II and the utterly clear orientation of the leaders of the various forms of bourgeois parties to revive the sociopolitical system which had ruled in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In fact, the advocates of the thesis concerning these 'sins' of the party 'prove' that it frustrated the multiparty system and prevented certain bourgeois politicians--who, incidentally, thanks to a set of international circumstances, indeed actual pressures, although they were already political corpses, at the end of the war were included in the political life of the new Yugoslavia--from becoming figures and prime movers in social development.

"The same approach and the same theses concerning the Bolshevized party in the sense of a Stalinist organization before and during the war is also applied to the entire postwar development, and it is said that 1948 (the attack by Stalin and the Cominform) was a conflict between two Stalinisms and two charismatic figures, and that the entire course of self-management is a clever construction which conceals the Stalinist essence of the order which is unceasingly smothering the democratic forces, tendencies and freedom of creativity, especially in the intellectual sphere."

[Box, left]

Dedijer, Kopinic, Kljakic

Lacking rigorous scholarly ambitions, but still claiming to be serious and claiming the author's dignity as a "searcher for the truth," a special commercial type of edition has been emerging on the fringe of history, publications predominantly concerned with so-called taboo topics and attempting in a sensationalist, but refined and demagogic, way--sometimes direct, sometimes ambiguous, usually under the guise of demystification of history by casting doubt on the revolutionaries and entire sets of party leaders, to discredit

the revolution and those who carried it out (Dedijer's "Novi prilozi ...," Kopinic's "Enigma," Kljakic's "Dosije Hebrang" [The Hebrang Dossier]). The ecstatic presentation of these books to the public and the drummer's promotion have overshadowed the publication of works whose scholarly and journalistic achievements on historical topics have been testified to. One well-known critic called "Novi prilozi ..." "epochal," saying that this is one of those books which change the thinking of young citizens.

[Box, right]

Conference Entitled "The Writing of History and Ideological Controversies" Comes to an End

The 2-day meeting on the topic "The Writing of History, Memoirs, Journalism and Newspaper Feature Articles in the Light of Current Ideological Controversies," which was organized by the "Vladimir Bakaric" Center of the Croatian LC Central Committee for Work on Ideology and Theory and by the Commission of the Croatian LC Central Committee for the Ideological Effort and Information, ended yesterday in Zagreb. The meeting was attended by about 120 eminent historians and public figures concerned with the problems of our quite recent past, and 46 speakers participated in the discussion.

In concluding the discussion Dr Stipe Suvar emphasized that it was not a mistake to organize this kind of symposium, since it is obvious (as this meeting itself confirmed) that party action is needed and that the League of Communists truly can no longer stand with its arms akimbo. "However," Suvar added, "if the League of Communists needs to be reproached for something, then it is for having so far shown its passivity, and that must be brought to an end. This meeting also showed that we have many qualified people ready to fight for the role of the League of Communists, which is especially important, since the antisocialist forces are involved in all sorts of ways in reshaping our history."

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END